

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER, 1923

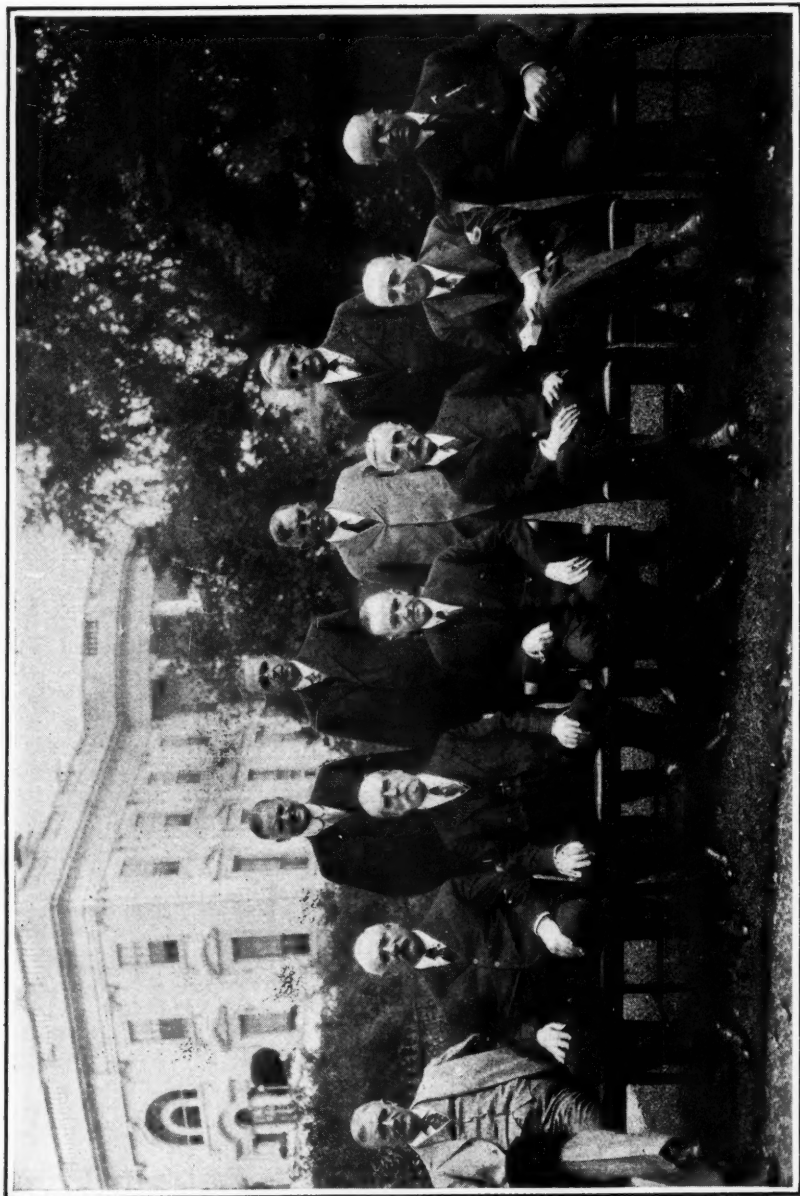
President Coolidge and His Cabinet		The Japanese Earthquake	371
<i>Frontispiece</i>		BY EDGAR W. WOOLARD	
		<i>With illustrations</i>	
The Progress of the World—		Rebuilding in Japan	373
Mankind and the Forces of Nature.....	339	BY CHARLES A. BEARD	
Japan's Disaster.....	339	<i>With illustrations</i>	
Wood-built Cities.....	339	Italy, Greece, and Corfu	383
Rebuilding Plans on Modern Lines.....	340	BY FRANK H. SIMONDS	
America's Helping Hand.....	340	<i>With illustrations</i>	
Self-reliant Japan.....	340	Mussolini at Close Range	395
Financial Solvency and Strength.....	341	BY MARJORIE SHULER	
Well-deserved Support.....	341	<i>With portrait</i>	
Planning Modern Towns.....	342	On the Surface in Italy	398
Friendship Always to Be Regarded.....	342	BY JOHN MARTIN VINCENT	
Europe at Loggerheads.....	343	Roosevelt in Montana	399
Italian Assertiveness.....	343	BY EDWARD B. HOWELL	
Public Opinion at Geneva Gains the Point.....	344	The Negro Exodus and Southern Agriculture	401
The Small Powers and the League.....	344	BY P. O. DAVIS	
An Encouraging Precedent.....	345	<i>With illustrations</i>	
To Moderate, Not to Thwart Vital Forces.....	345	Eighteenth Amendment as It Stands	408
A New Situation in the Ruhr.....	345	BY W. R. BOYD	
Germany in Negotiation with France.....	346	Hawaii National Park	411
American Views at Geneva.....	347	BY WILLIAM I. COLE	
Torriente—An American Statesman.....	347	<i>With illustrations</i>	
Cuba's Railroad and Port Policy.....	347	The Newer Justice	417
Public Control and Private Right.....	348	BY GEORGE GORDON BATTLE	
Mexico Has Won Recognition.....	348	For Better Prisons	420
The Settlement with President Obregon.....	349	BY ADOLPH LEWISOHN	
"The American Peace Award".....	350	Labrador—Its Boundary Question and Gold Fields	422
Now for the Plans!.....	350	BY SIR PATRICK T. McGRATH	
Ireland in the League.....	350	<i>With map</i>	
Britain's Imperial Conference.....	351	Leading Articles of the Month—	
Smuggling and Prohibition.....	351	What the Austrian Loan Meant for Austria.....	425
Spain's Bloodless Revolution.....	351	Secretary Davis on Selective Immigration.....	426
A Coolidge Appointment.....	352	Coal—Our Chained Prometheus.....	428
A Political Adviser Needed.....	352	Electrification of North America.....	429
Republican Politics.....	353	How They Build in Japan.....	431
Democratic Prospects.....	353	A New Factor in Destruction of Wild Life.....	432
A Rule that Works Both Ways.....	354	A Renewal of Interest in the Pony Express.....	433
The New President at Work.....	354	A German Outlook on the Far East.....	435
Restlessness and the Ku Klux.....	354	German Imperialism Compared to France of the "Bloc".....	436
The Coal Strike Settled.....	355	Louis Couperus: The Dutch Novelist.....	437
The Terms of Compromise.....	355	Thomas Mann: Leading Prose Writer of Germany.....	438
Where the Public Comes In.....	355	Luigi Pirandello: Italian Dramatist.....	440
Increased Costs: Higher Prices.....	356	High Cost of Living in Italy and Its Causes.....	441
A Flood of Petroleum.....	356	The Tangier Question in Spain.....	442
Cheaper Gasoline for a Time.....	356	News from Nature's World.....	444
The Law of Supply and Demand.....	356	<i>With portraits, cartoons, and other illustrations</i>	
Oil Helps the Panama Canal.....	357	The New Books	446
The Crisis for Our Railroads.....	357		
<i>With portraits, cartoons, and other illustrations</i>			
Record of Current Events	358		
<i>With illustrations</i>			
Cartoons of the Month	364		
Investment Questions and Answers			Page 8, advertising section

TERMS:—Issued monthly, 35 cents a number, \$4.00 a year in advance in the United States and Canada. Elsewhere \$4.50. Entered at New York Post Office as second-class matter. Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office Department, Ottawa, Canada. Subscribers may remit to us by post-office or express money orders, or by bank checks, drafts, or registered letters. Money in letters is sent at sender's risk. Renew as early as possible in order to avoid a break in the receipt of the numbers. Bookdealers, Postmasters and Newsdealers receive subscriptions.

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CORPORATION, 30 Irving Place, New York

Pacific Coast Office, 327 Van Nuys Bldg., Los Angeles, Calif.

ALBERT SHAW, Pres. CHAS. D. LANIER, Sec. and Treas.



© Harris & Ewing

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE AND THE MEMBERS OF HIS CABINET, ON THE WHITE HOUSE GROUNDS

(It will be remembered that Mr. Coolidge has retained, for the present, without any change, the cabinet of Mr. Harding. In this picture, seated, from left to right, are: Harry S. New, Postmaster-General; John W. Weeks, Secretary of War; Charles E. Hughes, Secretary of State; President Coolidge; Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury; Harry M. Daugherty, Attorney-General; and Edwin Denby, Secretary of the Navy. Standing, left to right: Herbert C. Hoover, Secretary of Commerce; Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior; Henry C. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture; and James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LXVIII

NEW YORK, OCTOBER, 1923

No. 4

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

Mankind and the Forces of Nature

The past month has recorded more than a normal average of events that will be regarded as having significance in the shaping of permanent history. The great catastrophe in Japan has reminded us that the forces of nature—acting in violence or in exceptional ways—continue as through all past ages to affect the destinies of mankind. Yet it is worth while to remark that human ingenuity, in its ceaseless endeavor to overcome natural obstacles, is winning victories from time to time that greatly improve the average comfort and security of populations. We are publishing elsewhere in this number a summarized statement prepared for us by a Washington scientist on the character and frequency of earthquakes. It is to be noted that the destructiveness of such occurrences depends not so much upon the severity of the shock as upon the accumulation of human interests in the regions that are subject to seismic disturbance by reason of geological conditions.

Japan's Disaster

A more severe shock than that which has brought such havoc to Tokyo, Yokohama, and the most populous stretch of Japanese territory, might have occurred in an unpopulated region with no marked change of the landscape and little claim upon public attention. But Tokyo is one of the world's great cities; and the earthquake of September 1st spread ruin across a more highly urbanized region of the world than any that has been similarly afflicted within the range of recorded history. As in the case of San Francisco's similar disaster of April, 1906, much greater devastation was due to fire than to the succession of shocks that we call by the general name of "earthquake." It is easy to under-

stand how a great number of fires are caused at the same time by the upheavals that scatter the burning contents of furnaces, disrupt oil tanks, and subject inflammable material of all kinds to ignition under circumstances that wholly prevent the use of ordinary means for extinguishing conflagrations. Facts of this kind are obvious enough when once stated; yet only those who know something from study or experience of the spread of flames through wood-built cities, or through forests in time of great drought, can realize how terrible is the resistless, annihilating sweep of fire under conditions so favorable to its progress. Nothing could create more consternation than the shaking and toppling of buildings in a violent earthquake; but the losses of property, as well as of life, would be comparatively small but for the far greater destructiveness of the fires that follow the shocks.

Wood- built Cities

The Japanese cities are almost entirely constructed of wood.

It is officially reported that there were 360,000 buildings in Tokyo, of which only 232 were of concrete and steel, 1,689 of stone, and 6,900 of brick. There remained 326,000 wooden buildings, of which 174,000 were only one story high, usually with tiled roofs. This information is supplied by Professor Charles A. Beard, whose remarkable article upon the great Japanese disaster, and the reconstructions that are to follow, will be found in our present number. Dr. Beard returned only recently from a period of many months in Japan, where he had been invited as an American expert to join Viscount Goto in the establishment of a Bureau of Municipal Research that should render scientific aid in the expected improvement and modern-

ization of Japanese cities. In our issue for last month, we presented a character sketch, from Dr. Beard's pen, of Viscount Goto, the man who was taking the lead in these proposed reforms, and who had been serving as Mayor of Tokyo. This great statesman of international experience, and of lofty aims for the betterment of the Japanese people, has now become head of the Ministry of Home Affairs in the new Cabinet, and is in charge of the whole program of relief and of reconstruction.

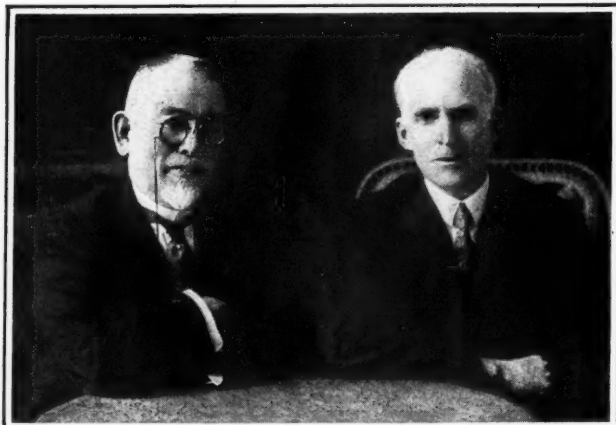
*Rebuilding
Plans on
Modern Lines*

At our request, Dr. Beard had prepared a second article, giving a somewhat intimate account of his own impressions and experiences while associated with Viscount Goto. But just as his manuscript reached our office, the first radio messages were coming across the Pacific that informed us of the disaster. Dr. Beard's exceptional knowledge made him the man best qualified to tell for our readers the main facts, as they had become available at the end of two weeks. And so a third article—called out by the emergency—now appears, while the second one is held to be rewritten, in the light of the new experiences that are in store, as Dr. Beard hastens back to Japan. For, while he was writing the article which we are publishing this month, Viscount Goto sent a dispatch requesting him to return immediately, in order to aid as an adviser in Japan's great

program of reconstruction. He will have sailed from Seattle on September 23. His previous experiences in studying the Japanese cities, and in helping the accomplished engineers and municipal experts of Japan to work out programs for future rearrangements, had, indeed, been of uncommon interest. But now to have the further experience of helping in the actual reconstruction of a great metropolis like Tokyo, as it rises from its ashes, will be vastly more thrilling. We shall in due time have from Dr. Beard's pen an account of the reconstruction of Tokio, Yokohama, and the other cities that are to be included in the rebuilding program of Minister Goto and his associates.

*America's
Helping
Hand*

It has been the lot of American citizens to contribute toward the relief of suffering people in many countries during recent years. Where aid has been forwarded under responsible auspices, there has been no reason to regret it. Millions of lives have been saved through American aid in famine-stricken parts of Russia and China. Rescue work on a vast scale has been accomplished throughout the Turkish domains and the Caucasus, by the ministrations of the Near East Relief. Child-welfare work in Serbia has been carried forward by an American organization upon so constructive a plan as to have had results that the Government itself has wrought into the social fabric of the new Yugoslavia, as its educational programs are developing. Remarkable results have accrued from help extended to the people of Vienna; and Austria is showing appreciation through its genuine efforts towards European recovery. It has not impaired the resources of America to help these distant peoples in their times of trouble; and it all counts in promoting the relations and influences that are to prevail in the happier future that all are seeking.



VISCOUNT GOTO (AT THE LEFT), NOW JAPANESE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS AND RECENTLY MAYOR OF TOKYO, WHO WILL HAVE GENERAL CHARGE OF THE WORK OF REBUILDING THE STRICKEN CITIES AND RESTORING THE DEVASTATED AREAS (Our illustration is from a photograph of Viscount Goto with Prof. Charles A. Beard, who has been summoned to Japan in an advisory capacity)

*Self-
reliant
Japan*

But there is a peculiar satisfaction in lending a helping hand in some hour of extreme

catastrophe to people so courageous, so high-spirited, and so self-reliant as the Japanese. Their efficiency has been demonstrated on many occasions within the past two or three decades. And it was to be expected that they would bring order out of confusion in the shortest possible time, after a visitation that had cost the lives of several hundred thousand people, shattered or burned the homes of several millions, and destroyed property aggregating in value perhaps several billions of dollars. It is true that food, clothing, medical supplies, and other necessary materials were on the scene as soon as they could arrive from the Philippines, China, and other nearby places. But valuable as were these cargoes, the Japanese people themselves drew upon their own surplus stores for most of the rice needed to feed the hungry, and most of the other materials for succoring the injured. There were casual reports of epidemics following the destruction of water supplies, sewers, and usual agencies of sanitary protection. But Japan—above all countries—seems to be able to exercise the kind of health control and discipline that prevents the spread of infection.

*Financial
Solvency
and Strength*

Not only was Japan capable of moving quickly to deal with the immediate problems—the disposal of the bodies of scores of thousands who were dead; the treatment and care of hundreds of thousands who had been seriously injured; the supply of food, clothing, and temporary shelter, and the maintenance of order—but without hysteria, and with firm purpose and judgment, Japan's leaders were prepared to deal expeditiously with the more permanent problems. In these modern times, private philanthropy is a matter of the check-book; and the carrying out of great public works is a matter of credit and finance. Japan at once adopted the outlines of a reconstruction program that would involve the rapid expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars. The Japanese Treasury was able to supply as much as could be expended for some time to come, while the prospect for the later placing of an international loan, if it should be found desirable, was wholly favorable. Japan's outstanding loans, as held in the United States and elsewhere, though slightly affected in the speculative markets for a day or two, were not in any manner discredited by the ravages of earthquake and fire; and a new Japanese



VISCOUNT GOMBEI YAMAMOTO, THE DISTINGUISHED ADMIRAL WHO IS HEAD OF THE NEW JAPANESE CABINET

(This notable sailor and statesman, now in his seventy-second year, has had a long career in the course of which he has visited all parts of the world and has become thoroughly familiar with international affairs as well as with domestic politics)

loan could be floated in the United States with the utmost ease and confidence as to the outcome.

*Well-
Deserved
Support*

Thus, while Japan will be abundantly able to finance a thoroughgoing program of reconstruction, it is none the less true that emergency aid ought to take the form of gifts from many sources. The Japanese do not complain, or advertise their sorrows; but the disaster has been overwhelming in its private aspects. The people of Japan were prompt to send their offerings at the time of the San Francisco disaster, although the State of California was abundantly able to provide for temporary relief as well as for the splendid reconstruction that has been so creditable to the metropolis of the Golden Gate. Japanese generosity was perhaps greater at that time, in proportion to ability to give, than that of any other regional donor to Red Cross and relief funds. In

return, the Californians have contributed with like good will to the Red Cross fund for Japan; and within a few days the total of American gifts had aggregated several millions of dollars. The property losses, alone, are reckoned in billions of yen. Japanese engineers, architects, and men of affairs were meanwhile taking steps to rebuild with a view to the future. Fortunately, studies looking toward reconstruction had been carried forward under Government authority for three or four years, as Dr. Beard explains.

*Planning
Modern
Towns*

In many respects the reconstruction work will be more complete and satisfactory in its results than it could otherwise have been. Following the famous example set by Baron Haussmann in Paris almost three-quarters of a century ago, many modern cities have widened their central thoroughfares and made other drastic improvements that required demolition at great expense. But such improvements are usually made as compromises, and can never be theoretically satisfactory except in a case where circumstances—such as those due to a great fire—give opportunity for street plans and other arrangements that fully recognize modern conditions. We may expect, therefore, that Japan will endeavor to turn disaster to advantage by making the new Tokyo far more convenient and secure than the old. It does not follow that American or Euro-

pean ideas will dominate. The Japanese people should, and will, continue to live their lives in their own way, and they can hardly fail to restore their cities, towns, and villages in accordance with their own customary views and preferences, as regards arrangement and architectural appearance. But it is not necessary to restore Japanese domestic architecture in a great city like Tokyo with such materials as wood. It seems to have been shown that steel and concrete resist earthquakes better than other materials. It is to be borne in mind, however, that protection against fire is far more to be desired than planning merely with reference to earthquakes.

*Friendship
Always
an Asset*

Friendship is always an asset to be prized. Even the most self-reliant are not only happier, but are stronger and more secure by reason of having made genuine friendships. There were times in the earlier history of Japan's modern career as a member of the family of nations when the good will of the United States was justly regarded as of high value. There had come a later time when Japan had acquired great military and naval strength, was pushing a program of imperial expansion, and was imagining that the American republic was in one way or another interposing obstacles in the path of Japan's supremacy in Asiatic and Pacific affairs. The Japanese came to the Washington Conference with many misgivings.

They returned with reassurance and changed feelings. That they have intended to live up to the agreements of the Washington Conference in perfect good faith is the belief of our Government at Washington. Since the Washington Conference, the anti-American agitation in Japan has wholly subsided and the anti-Japanese agitation in this country has practically disappeared. In times of affliction, sympathy is a precious thing even to those who are most capable and self-reliant. Material relief sent in a spirit of good will is needed, and will be gratefully



© E. M. Newman

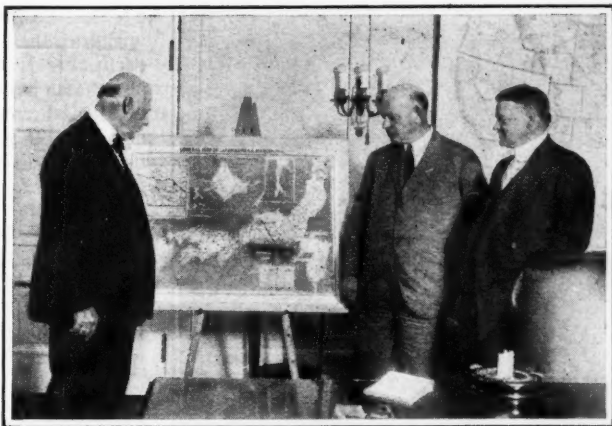
THE AMERICAN EMBASSY BUILDING AT TOKYO, WHICH WAS DESTROYED IN THE RECENT DISASTER

(At first there was some anxiety regarding the safety of Ambassador Woods and his family, but later they were known to have been unharmed. The American Consul, however, Mr. Max D. Kirjasoff, was lost with members of his family)

received, but undoubtedly the thing that is touching Japan most deeply so far as America is concerned is the universal display of friendliness and sympathy, and the wide-spread offers of help, not merely in the form of Red Cross funds, but in many other ways. Thus American engineers, architects, physicians, steel men, lumbermen, and organizations of all kinds have been offering to help in ways that are thoroughly practical, and that can in most, if not all cases, be utilized in connection with the great things that are going forward under Japan's own initiative. A considerable part of the cost of rebuilding Japanese cities and villages will be met by savings that result from reduced army and navy budgets.

*Europe
at Logger-
heads*

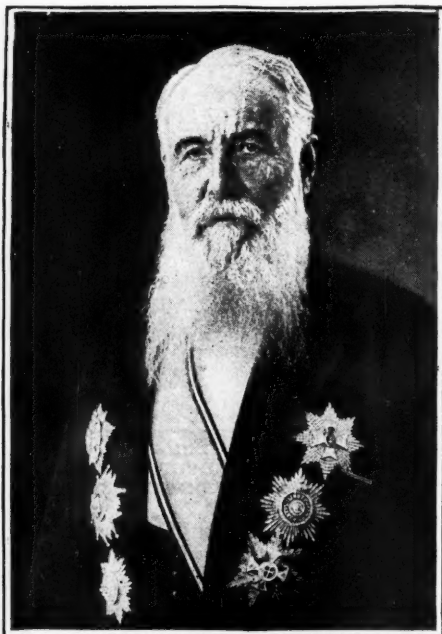
Good will cannot be produced by machinery. It is asking too much of the League of Nations to expect that it can by the mere fact of its existence settle all serious disputes and establish European harmony. Mr. Simonds, in his survey of European affairs elsewhere in this issue, sets forth the facts in the controversy between Italy and Greece that has seemed to menace the peace of Europe. As Mr. Simonds shows, there has been no danger of a war between Italy and Greece, because the strength of Greece has been too seriously impaired by her recent war with Turkey to offer any resistance when a great power chooses to occupy the Island of Corfu as a guaranty for the settlement of a claim. Americans might not have liked the bullying tone and the theatrical manner of Mussolini, as he threatened poor Greece and defied the League of Nations. But for actual aggression his occupying Corfu was a mild affair compared with our naval seizure of Vera Cruz in 1914 or with our invasion of Northern Mexico with a military force under General Pershing in retaliation for the raid of a few bandits across the Rio Grande. There is not much reason to think that Italy intends to pursue courses that would meet with the moral condemnation of the enlightened public opinion of Europe and America.



SECRETARY WEEKS (WAR), SECRETARY DENBY (NAVY), AND SECRETARY HOOVER (COMMERCE), STUDYING THE MAP OF JAPAN ON RECEIVING NEWS OF THE EARTHQUAKE

*Italian
Assertiveness*

The danger of conflict has not, of course, been due to the strain between Italy and Greece, but rather to the differences between Italy and Yugoslavia regarding Fiume and the Eastern Adriatic. The Yugoslavs will show true statesmanship if they are patient, conciliatory, and ready for compromises so reasonable as to secure the approbation of the world. The Italians cannot possibly object to giving Yugoslavia the needful opportunities for trade and commerce. Italy has more to gain, by far, from welcoming Southern Slavs on the Adriatic coast than from excluding them. Materials of all kinds are needed by the Italians, and the greater the trade across the Adriatic, the better for everybody. We are publishing an uncommonly discerning sketch of the personality of Mussolini, sent to us by Miss Marjorie Shuler, whose contributions appear from time to time in these pages, and who with other American delegates has been attending an international gathering of women in Italy. With Mr. Simonds' analysis of the international bearings of the Mussolini policy, Miss Shuler's impressions of this remarkable personality, and the little glimpse of Italian life as it has appeared this summer to Professor Vincent of the Johns Hopkins University (who knows Italy thoroughly from frequent visits extending over a long period) our readers may find a good deal of reliable information in this number that will not lead them to form any hasty prejudices against the Italian people in their post-war efforts



M. NICHOLAS PACHITCH, JUGOSLAVIA'S
VETERAN PRIME MINISTER

(Who has been conducting negotiations with the Italian Premier, Mussolini, regarding Fiume and Ports on the Eastern Shore of the Adriatic)

to maintain their positions. We are by no means prepared to believe that Italy is preparing in a spirit of sheer recklessness to break away from the League of Nations, or to employ policies that will lead to another World War.

*Public Opinion
at Geneva
Gains the Point*

Yet, Italy's course has been one of bold assertion that would under different conditions have led almost inevitably to a war involving many peoples. Why this is true is explained by Mr. Simonds, with a review of recent European history and a clearness of analysis that will repay the most careful study. How the new Europe is emerging, and how it begins to exert its restraining influence is perhaps better illustrated by this Corfu incident than by anything else that has happened since the map-making changes that followed the war. At the very moment when the opponents of the League of Nations have declared that it had broken down utterly in the face of a real test, it begins to dawn upon the American intelligence that exactly the opposite is the real truth. It was announced on September

13 that Mussolini had consented to the withdrawal from Corfu on October 1 of the occupying Italian troops. This is nothing else than a triumph of the League of Nations—not as having acted through its machinery, nor by having pronounced a verdict; but rather, in its capacity as a point of focus for the expression of European opinion.

*The Small
Powers, and
the League*

More importantly than at any previous time since it was formed, the League of Nations in debate at Geneva was recognized as an international forum. When the Italian view was presented, to the effect that Italy's action was not a matter for League discussion, the French representatives were reluctant to oppose Italy in view of other problems pending; and so the leadership was assumed with great courage on behalf of the British by Lord Robert Cecil. The French had been insisting, in their Ruhr controversy, that the Paris settlements must be upheld. Lord Robert showed that the treaties, if they stand at all, must stand as a whole, and that the obligations to support the League of Nations were as much a part of the peace agreements as were the claims for German reparation. In the new Europe, Britain, France, and Italy are the



THE RELATION OF THE ISLAND OF CORFU TO
ITALY, GREECE AND THE ADRIATIC SEA

(The map shows also the Port of Fiume, which Italy desires)

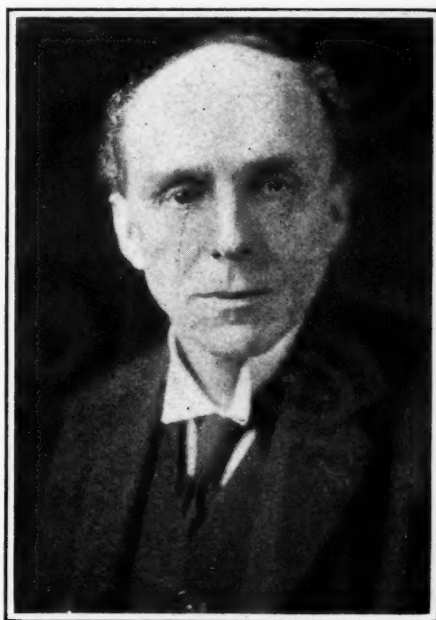
sole survivors of the former group of six great powers; while Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries, are all taking a most active part in European diplomacy and intercourse. When a small power like Greece, in her depleted state and her troubled policies following Turkish victories, is pounced upon in the assertion of a great power's ambitions, it is natural that the increased flock of small sovereignties should support a championship so able and so timely as that which Lord Robert Cecil had assumed.

*An
Encouraging
Precedent*

The United States, it is true, does not hold an official place at Geneva; but American opinion in favor of the judicial or arbitral settlement of the issue between Italy and Greece was unanimous. It was of no particular consequence whether the League of Nations acted directly in respect to the dispute itself, or whether the Council of Ambassadors at Paris, which is virtually subordinate to the League, offered the solution. Far from having made a failure and having met a defeat, the League of Nations for the first time has really achieved a conspicuous success in a matter that involved war and peace, in a most serious crisis. The important thing is the world opinion itself. But Geneva proved itself a sounding board. To have secured the evacuation of Corfu, with certain details of the dispute referred to the Hague Tribunal, is a precedent that can but encourage Europe in efforts to secure peace through organization.

*To Moderate,
Not to Thwart
Vital Forces*

Nations are living and growing organisms; and some of them are destined to future developments that must mean readjustment from time to time of their spheres of influence and control. The *status quo* can not be crystallized, and thus rendered wholly inelastic. The situation in the Mediterranean will long continue to be a delicate and difficult one, because old claims yield reluctantly to new forces. Such a body as the League of Nations can by no means map out ideal solutions and force them upon powers of widely unequal populations and resources. But the League may do much to avert danger in times of crisis, while readjustments are taking place as vital forces are at work. As was shown long ago by the leaders of American opinion in the construc-



© Harris & Ewing

LORD ROBERT CECIL

(Whose conspicuous leadership in the League of Nations has been due, not to his official status—technically he represents South Africa—but to his courage, intelligence, and high public spirit)

tion of our federal system, there is strength in numbers if coöperation can be achieved, because the greater the number of States the less danger that any one or two may play a domineering or tyrannical rôle. The League of Nations is to prove itself a great bulwark of the smaller powers as they settle down to a peaceful absorption in their own affairs, and grow in the spirit of good neighborhood towards the countries that are adjacent to them.

*A New
Situation in
the Ruhr*

As Mr. Simonds clearly shows, there has come about a great change in the Ruhr situation. The essential fact all along has been Germany's policy of passive resistance to the French occupation. As the French Government has constantly asserted, the occupation, neither in its theory nor in its practice, was in any manner oppressive. There was nothing to prevent the great industrial activities of this most highly developed manufacturing district of all Europe from continuing at full pace. Germany's resistance, through strikes and planned refusal to do business, did not take the form of war in the military sense, but it had many of



**M. RAYMOND POINCARÉ, THE RESOLUTE
FRENCH PREMIER**

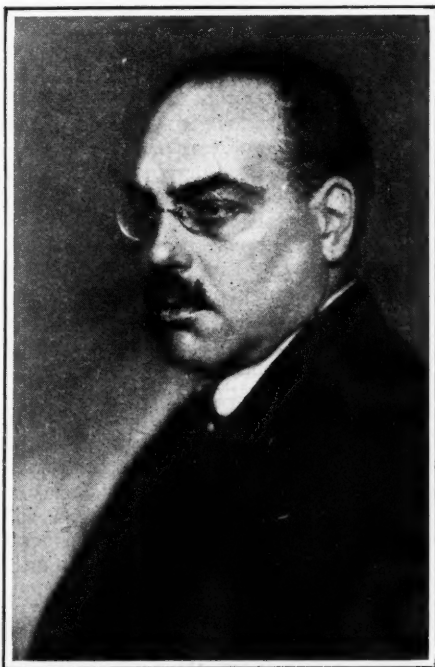
(Whose unshaken insistence upon the French position in the Ruhr seems to have secured a great victory in the early abandonment of passive resistance by Germany)

the effects of war. It greatly increased the cost of French occupation; it led to international strains; it brought hunger and distress upon Germany herself; and indirectly it increased the amount of British unemployment and affected the prosperity of the Scandinavian countries. We have from time to time endeavored to impress upon our readers the view that the question of success or failure was not to be settled by a week or a month of French occupation. It has taken the better part of a year to convince Germany that the French are occupying the Ruhr to stay and that no arguments on the part of the British Government are to avail anything in making Germany's passive resistance a thing to be justified in its results.

*Germany in
Negotiation
with France*

At last the Germans seem to have been convinced, and they have begun direct negotiations with France in what seems to be a wholly changed spirit. Meanwhile Germany is in so chaotic a condition that it is quite uncertain whether or not the leadership of Dr. Stresemann, the new Chancellor, can hold the country together while negotiations proceed. It has always been evident

that if sane and intelligent views could prevail and illusions could be removed, the French and German Governments could work out a reparations plan that would set Europe on its feet again. Austria, through a rational acceptance of altered facts, has found herself living again in a world that is not devoid of kindness and good will. It is to be feared that Germany will go to pieces internally before she can have reached a fair settlement of her external problems. Meanwhile, the German mark is no longer of sufficient value to be quoted in the exchange markets. A year of bad policies has greatly increased the distress of the German people, and they have an unhappy outlook for the coming winter. It does not follow, however, that ten years from now the Germans will be unable to make reparation payments on an adequate scale. They have merely to accept facts as they are. A nation of such vast resources, and one so highly trained in agriculture, industry, and commerce, has only to adopt right policies, domestic and foreign, to



**DR. RUDOLF HILFERDING, THE PROMINENT
GERMAN LEADER OF THE SOCIAL DEMO-
CRATIC PARTY**

(Who is Finance Minister under Chancellor Stresemann, and will have a prominent part in the new discussion of reparation terms with France)

enter once more upon a career leading to assured prosperity.

*American
Views
at Geneva*

Even those Americans who are not willing to have the United States join the League of Nations must have candor enough to rejoice when the League, through its efforts or its expressions, helps its member nations over some of the rough places that they encounter in their jostling struggles for modern achievement. When a leader of such high-mindedness as Lord Robert Cecil finds the League a place where the public opinion of English-speaking countries can be brought to bear upon critical issues, it amounts—in effect—to a certain measure of American representation. Furthermore, when so highly accomplished a diplomat and statesman of our Western world as Dr. Cosme de la Torriente of Cuba has the honor to be elected President of the League of Nations Assembly, the representation of America becomes still more obvious and important. Cuba has been in very close relationship with the United States, and almost a member of our federal family, since Uncle Sam's intervention on behalf of Cuban freedom twenty-five years ago. It is a matter of gratification to intelligent citizens of the United States that Cuba has taken part in many international gatherings of importance since her achievement of independence.

*Torriente—
An American
Statesman*

Dr. Torriente has been chairman of the Cuban delegation at Geneva during all the sessions of the League of Nations since the Assembly first met. The election of his eminent friend and fellow jurist, Dr. Bustamante, of Havana, as a member of the Permanent International Court of Justice was due primarily to his own high merits, but also in part to the influence of Dr. Torriente. The United States, moreover, is brought still closer to the League of Nations, with the election of its new Cuban President, by reason of the announced fact that Dr. Torriente is to come to Washington as Ambassador. He was finishing his education in Cuban universities, when, in his early twenties, the war for Cuban independence broke out. He joined the patriot cause at once, and came to the United States, where he helped to promote those expeditions which were technically illegal (the United States then being neu-



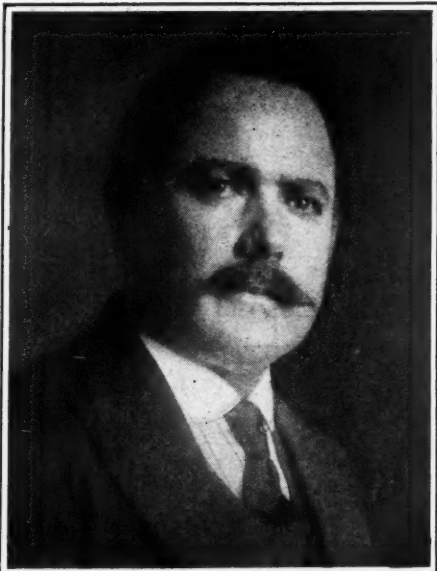
© Keystone

DR. COSME DE LA TORRIENTE, OF CUBA
(President of the Assembly of the League of Nations and member of the Cuban Senate, who is reported as about to come to Washington as Ambassador)

tral), but which availed to sustain the rebellion until the United States, after three years, intervened. The American military authorities at once appointed Colonel Torriente as Secretary of the Government, and later as Acting Governor at Havana. He has served in every capacity as a diplomat at Madrid, and was elected Senator from his native province of Matanzas five years ago. As Secretary of State under President Menocal, he had to do with important foreign matters. He is one of the Cuban members of the Hague Tribunal of Arbitration, and rendered useful services to the United States and the allies in the Great War. In the Cuban Senate, he has been chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. If it should be true, as announced, that he is to come to Washington, he will take his place immediately as one of the most influential and highly respected members of the diplomatic corps.

*Cuba's
Railroad and
Port Policy*

There are issues in Cuba which call for the most careful and wise discussion between the governments at Washington and Havana. There has been great unrest, with rumors of revolution, but apparently President



© Clinedinst, Washington

GENERAL ALVARO OBREGON, PRESIDENT OF MEXICO

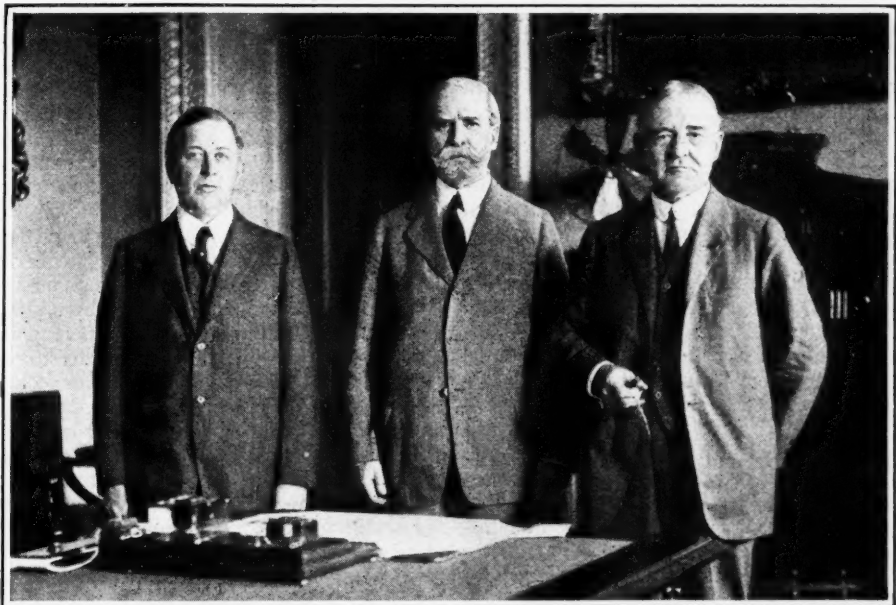
(Whose administration has now received full recognition at Washington)

Zayas' Government will hold its authority. The executive department has shown itself more reasonable of late than the legislative. Under the Platt Amendment to the Cuban Constitution, which gives the United States certain powers of financial supervision, a recent loan of fifty million dollars was authorized, one of the points of agreement providing for the abolition of governmental lotteries in connection with the flotation of public securities. The legislature has disregarded that agreement, in spite of the protests transmitted through Ambassador Crowder. But a more serious cause of disagreement has been found in a measure known as the Tarafa railroad bill. This measure, which bears the name of Colonel Tarafa, its author, has aroused the opposition of the American sugar companies that have immense landholdings and investments along the Cuban coasts. These companies as a rule have their own transportation facilities and their own outlets on the shore. West Indian sugar as a rule is grown on coastal lowlands, each separate interest having a great central mill, where the sugar cane is brought from the fields by a network of tracks, and from which the sugar is carried to the company's own private port

for shipment to the United States or Europe.

Public Control and Private Right The Tarafa bill proposes an arbitrary consolidation of these private railroad lines, with the regulation of their rates and methods as public utilities; and it further deals with the subject of ports and terminals at the water's edge in such a way that the sugar companies are to be compelled to do their exporting at one or another of twenty-five public seaports mentioned specifically in the bill. The measure on its face would seem in certain respects to be wholly unnecessary, and to involve virtual confiscation. It may indeed be reasonable that the Cuban Government should establish some plan of oversight to control private railroads in their capacity as public carriers. But to prevent sugar companies from shipping their output from their own docks would seem to be unreasonable. Dr. Torriente himself comes of a wealthy family of sugar planters, and men of his character and training are capable of dealing fairly and sensibly with a subject of this kind. Among our notices of new books will be found an allusion to a volume that has just appeared in Havana from the pen of Dr. Torriente entitled, "Actividades de la Liga de las Naciones" (Activities of the League of Nations). This volume gives so clear an account of the organization and work of the League up to the present year that its immediate translation into English would be well justified, although English and American writers have presented the same subject with thoroughness.

Mexico Has Won Recognition The adjustment of business relations as between Washington and Havana ought to be a simple and easy task when compared with the difficulties that have been overcome by the negotiators who have succeeded in restoring good relations between Mexico and the United States. The Obregon Government is now in good standing at Washington, and recognition here will undoubtedly be followed promptly by that of England, France and other governments that had been awaiting the action of the American State Department. The announcement made by President Coolidge through the Department of State gives full credit to the work of our Commissioners, Messrs. Charles B. Warren, and John Bar-



© Harris & Ewing

CHARLES B. WARREN (Left), AND JOHN B. PAYNE (Right), WITH SECRETARY HUGHES, AT WASHINGTON, AFTER RETURNING FROM THEIR SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS AS AMERICAN COMMISSIONERS AT THE CAPITAL OF MEXICO

ton Payne. An exchange of Ambassadors is to take place soon, and meanwhile the embassies have been re-established. Mr. Payne's return from Mexico has virtually coincided with the fresh responsibilities thrown upon him, as head of the Red Cross, by the Japanese disaster. Mr. Warren does not wish to go to Mexico as Ambassador, and it is expected that Mr. Coolidge will name for the post a man who is known to have been the choice of President Harding.

The Settlement with President Obregon Mexico does not abandon her broad policies, but in the application of them she undertakes to see that no injustice is done to American interests. It is within the rights of Mexico to adopt a policy looking to the repatriation of vast landholdings, for the sake of their sub-division and sale to landless peasants. This is a movement that is going on to-day all over Europe, from Ireland and the Baltic coasts across Russia to the Caspian. It is in line with the historic processes that created the millions of independent American farmers who are the backbone of our nation. Mexico has a right to control the destiny of her own soil, and she has a right to exercise a reasonable

control for taxation purposes over such natural resources as petroleum. But she has no right, in the pursuance of her policies, to proceed in such a way as to take the property of foreigners without due compensation, or to levy taxes in disregard of contractual rights. Secretary Hughes and President Coolidge received the returned commissioners in full conference late in August; and it is sufficient at this time to know that these high officials believe that all remaining differences can be worked out by joint commissions dealing with particular matters. Mexico may well hope to enter upon a period of great prosperity, with the way cleared for foreign capital to take its part once more in Mexican development. The General Claims Convention between the United States and Mexico was signed at the State Department at Washington on September 8. Thus we find results achieved by President Harding's conciliatory methods, in what was perhaps the most difficult situation that had been passed down in the form of unfinished business. It is a fortunate thing for the country that President Coolidge came into his high office so fully conversant with pending policies.

"*The American Peace Award*" Some time ago Mr. Edward W. Bok, of Philadelphia, called upon his fellow citizens to propose some practicable plan by which the United States may cooperate with other nations to achieve and preserve the peace of the world. In order to stimulate interest, and, above all, to bring current discussions into the form of definite proposals, Mr. Bok offered generous money prizes, with a view to having plans canvassed at a fixed moment. Mr. Bok named a committee which should elaborate a plan in detail and should select a jury of award. Mr. John W. Davis was the first named of the twelve who constituted Mr. Bok's policy committee; and the Jury of Award was announced on September 17 as follows: Colonel Edward M. House, General James G. Harbord, Miss Ellen F. Pendleton, Mr. Roscoe Pound, Mr. Elihu Root, Mr. William Allen White, and Mr. Brand Whitlock. To praise this as a good committee would be something like alluding with approval to George Washington or Abraham Lincoln. Five members of this jury are well known to the general public, and the other two are equally well known in less popular circles. Miss Pendleton is President of Wellesley College, and Roscoe Pound is Dean of the Harvard Law School—a man of penetrating intelligence as regards jurisprudence and human institutions.

Now for the Plans! Individuals (American citizens), and organizations of all kinds, are invited to submit their plans. The final date is November 15 of the present year. The proper address is "American Peace Award, 342 Madison Avenue, New York City." It is well to know the scope of the plan that is called for. The committee puts it in this way:

The winning plan must provide a practicable means whereby the United States can take its place and do its share toward preserving world peace, while not making compulsory the participation of the United States in European wars, if any such are, in the future, found unpreventable.

The plan may be based upon the present covenant of the League of Nations or may be entirely apart from that instrument.

If the jury of award finds a plan that it can accept, there will be an immediate payment of fifty thousand dollars. If the plan thus approved by so distinguished a jury is accepted by our Government be-

fore the present administration retires from office on March 4, 1925, Mr. Bok's liberality provides a second fifty thousand dollars for the prize winner. It is evidently hoped that, if so experienced and wise a jury can agree that a plan is practicable, there will be an almost irresistible appeal to a right-minded public opinion. The new Congress, which is to assemble on the first Monday of December, might be led to give the proposals a serious consideration: and this might result in official action within the allotted period of fifteen months. That Mr. Elihu Root should have consented to serve on this jury seems to us the most important single fact connected with the entire enterprise. The least important fact is the money award; but Mr. Bok is an advertising man of almost unequalled discernment, and nobody else has better knowledge than he of the means of securing public attention. He had no thought of going into the market place to buy wisdom, in regard to such a matter as the international relationships of the United States. The people of America have themselves recently contributed not less than thirty thousand millions of dollars in the furtherance of a point of view regarding the establishment of the world's peace. But Mr. Bok's prize offer captured the fancy of every headline writer in the United States; and, of course, that was its purpose. Considered as a contribution to encourage the American public to think upon a matter of vital concern, Mr. Bok's gift will in any case have served a useful purpose.

Ireland in the League A matter highly worth recording in these pages was the admittance on September 10 of the Irish Free State to membership in the League of Nations. President Torriente managed the affair with full recognition of the fact that it had a somewhat dramatic and unusual quality. The three Irish delegates—President Cosgrave, John McNeil, and Desmond Fitzgerald—were welcomed to the Assembly at Geneva with an enthusiasm and a ceremonial procedure that were quite new to the methods of the League. President Cosgrave declared that "Ireland joins in solemn covenant to exercise the powers of her sovereign status in promoting the peace, security, happiness, and economic and cultural well-being of the human race." The prestige of Cosgrave and his associates was, of course, greatly en-

hanced by the fact that they had come through the Irish elections of August 27 with a handsome victory that establishes the Free State, as against the Republican followers of De Valera. The contest was to fill 153 seats in the Dublin Parliament. The leading members of the Free State Government were all reelected, and a strong majority was secured. The former opponents of the Free State had abandoned civil war, and had attempted to carry the parliamentary elections as a better way of advancing the cause of an Irish republic detached from the British Empire. Forty-four members of the new Parliament are classed as Republicans; but the period of civil strife is apparently at an end. It has been a costly and bitter struggle, and Ireland is now engaged in an effort to show that she can put her finances upon a sound basis, restore her agriculture, and build up her industries.

*Britain's
Imperial
Conference*

This Irish election, with its decisive outcome, helps to clear the atmosphere for the great conference of the Empire that is to open in the present month of October at London. Ireland's position, as it is agreed, is to be analogous in general respects to that of Canada and the other so-called dominions. One of the questions to be discussed at London by the Premiers and delegations is the manner in which the outlying parts of the Empire are to be consulted in matters of international policy that affect them all. The American people will look on at the London Conference with friendly interest, and without regarding themselves as concerned in any direct way. The English people are bearing a heavy burden by reason of unemployment, and they are naturally eager to have Empire developments take forms that will stimulate their own industry and commerce. Relations between the American and British Governments are entirely harmonious, and the same thing is to be said regarding the United States and Canada.

*Smuggling
and
Prohibition*

Our Government would welcome somewhat better co-operation in endeavors to prevent smuggling and to enforce the prohibition laws. But it is fully recognized at Washington that we cannot expect other governments to go beyond a certain point in helping us to give effect to our domestic



© Keystone View Co.

**WILLIAM T. COSGRAVE, PRESIDENT OF THE
IRISH FREE STATE**

(Mr. Cosgrave's triumph in the recent Irish elections, and his appearance at Geneva at the head of Ireland's delegation to the League of Nations, gave him a well-earned prominence in the news dispatches of September)

policies. On the other hand, it is the business of governments of high standing like that of Britain to join in preventing the use of their territory to sustain a traffic that is criminally organized and that violates international law as well as the ethics of intercourse. Our Government is proceeding with great caution in its refusal to use the navy to aid in the enforcement of revenue laws as against pirates and smugglers. This caution ought to secure from the British, and other governments that have colonial possessions in the West Indies, a more earnest attempt to stop a traffic that has flourished under false clearance papers, and through unworthy connivance on the part of the local authorities.

*Spain's
Bloodless
Revolution*

Spain last month furnished another example of Europe's impatience with parliaments and cabinets. For a long time the nations of Europe looked upon democratic government in the United States as an experiment of doubtful stability. But Europe since the armistice has furnished more examples, by

far, of revolutionary change in civil administration than the South American republics in their most turbulent periods had ever presented. Mussolini and the black-shirted Fascisti in their seizure of the reins of authority in Italy have used methods almost inconceivable in this country. If the Ku Klux Klan in full regalia—under a leader preceded by bearers of a fiery cross—should march upon Albany, hustle Governor Al Smith back to his Tammany precinct on the East Side, and take full charge of all branches of the vast mechanism of New York's State government, they would be following what is now becoming a familiar method of reform in the venerable sovereignties of Europe. Next month we are presenting (from the pen of Dr. Graves, head of the New York Department of Education) the story of Bulgaria's sensational upset of a government, as he witnessed it on a recent tour of southeastern Europe.

*General
Rivera
in Control*

The change in Spain has been accomplished under the leadership of a group of high army officers. A military *coup d'état* beginning in the enterprising but turbulent city of Barcelona swept the country in the middle of September. Upon the 14th, the entire cabinet was compelled to resign and the government was taken in charge by a directorate of officers with General Prima Rivera at the head. Martial law was declared, but acquiescence was as general as in the case of Mussolini's seizure of power in Italy. King Alfonso rejected the appeals of the deposed cabinet, and sided cordially with the leaders of the successful *coup d'état*. Spain had been having a bad time trying to suppress an uprising of natives in the Spanish protectorate of Morocco, where 56,000 Spanish troops, according to late August reports, were making no headway against a few thousand fighting tribesmen. It is not entirely clear why the Spanish army should have visited its own mistakes in Morocco upon the civilian cabinet at Madrid, although the cabinet was held responsible for the general management of the Morocco situation. It was arranged that the new military directorate should be followed promptly by a civilian cabinet, picked, however, by the cabal of generals. It was, of course, claimed by Captain-General Rivera that the whole movement is intended to clean out the corrupt politicians and bring in a régime of honesty and efficiency. Explaining his

movement, Rivera declared that no imperialist ideas were entertained. "We believe," he said, "that friendly nations will see with sympathy the development of a movement directed against the immorality which is dragging Spain into decadence." Such methods of political reform, by seizure of authority, may seem to bring fresh life and vigor into the conduct of Italian or Spanish affairs, but in the long run the dictator is not a desirable type of ruler.

*A
Coolidge
Appointment*

President Coolidge has succeeded to the duties of his office with a quiet efficiency that has compelled admiration as well as respect. The only step taken by him that has aroused any degree of criticism has been his selection of the Hon. C. Bascom Slemple, of Virginia, to succeed Mr. George B. Christian, Jr., as secretary to the President. Mr. Christian's relation to President Harding was an entirely personal one, and was wholly devoid of political significance. The appointment of Mr. Slemple, on the contrary, is discussed as having a strictly political meaning. For a number of years Mr. Slemple was the one Republican Congressman in the Virginia delegation. He was defeated for reelection last November. He has a wide official and political acquaintance. Mr. Harding had taken into his Cabinet as Attorney-General his own political manager and life-long friend, Mr. Daugherty; and in general it may be said that he was surrounded by his political and personal intimates. President Coolidge, on the other hand, assumes the presidency with an official entourage that contains few, if any, of his own personal associates.

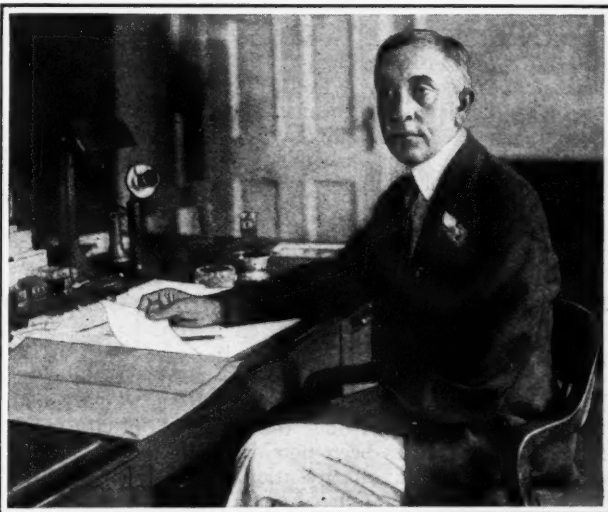
*A Political
Adviser
Needed*

Hundreds of matters are brought to the attention of the President of the United States through members of Congress, members of political committees, State and local officials, and more or less influential personages, that have a political bearing. Such presidential secretaries as Mr. Cortelyou, Mr. Loeb, Mr. Hillis, and Mr. Tumulty, have been men of political acumen and of wide acquaintance. Mr. Coolidge, in selecting ex-Congressman Slemple, is merely bringing into his official organization a man intimately acquainted with men and affairs at Washington, and with politicians throughout the country. The charges made, in certain Democratic quarters, that Mr.

Slemp while in Congress had been improperly concerned with postmaster-ships and federal patronage, are matters that may reasonably be left to President Coolidge. No one who is intelligent and fair-minded will believe for a moment that the new President, with his profound responsibilities, would place any man in so important an office as that which Mr. Slemp now holds in whom he did not have full confidence. Mr. Slemp was elected to succeed his father in Congress in 1907; and for a Republican to have carried a Virginia district repeatedly, so as to have served sixteen years in Congress, implies qualities of character that have been well tested. He is a graduate of the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington, where he taught for a time, afterwards becoming a lawyer.

Republican Politics

There is a widely expressed sentiment among the Republican leaders who had long ago agreed that President Harding was to be renominated, that President Coolidge is the man upon whom the convention next year is most likely to agree. The Republicans will have to go before the country upon the record of the Administration; and if the next few months should make it clear that there is full harmony and coöperation between the new President and the Harding Cabinet, it would seem likely enough that the party would regard Coolidge as the logical candidate. However, the presidential primaries will be open, and six months hence the voters will be much better prepared than now to express their preferences. In accordance with decisions made by the national convention of 1920, the delegations from non-Republican States have been cut down, to the total number of some thirty-two votes. Thus Georgia is reduced from 17 to 9, Louisiana from 12 to 9, Mississippi from 12 to 4, South Carolina from 11 to 4, and Texas from 23 to 17. Alabama, Arkansas, and North Carolina remain unchanged, while States where there



© Harris & Ewing

HON. C. BASCOM SLEMP, SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT

is a real and active Republican party as in Florida, Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Virginia, have made some gains, Kentucky and Tennessee in particular, each gaining six. The total number of the delegates to the Republican convention of 1924 will be 1036 as against 984 in 1920. The plan as adopted is a compromise, and will improve the quality and character of the convention. It happens that Mr. Slemp, the secretary to the President, was a member of the special committee that worked out the rearrangement on the basis of votes actually cast in the last presidential election.

Democratic Prospects

The Democratic party happens to have no convention problem like that with which the Republicans have long been confronted. There are some States that are very strongly Republican, but none in which the Democratic party may not hope to win occasional victories, with the possible exception of Vermont. The two-thirds rule is the most questionable of the customs that affect the character and results of Democratic national conventions. Thus Tammany Hall, under Mr. Murphy's leadership, can fully control the great New York State delegation; and it is privately asserted by well-informed politicians that Tammany has already been conferring with leaders in Indiana and one or two other States with

a view to a united group, able to control enough votes to prevent the securing of a two-thirds convention majority without the consent of this "bloc." In the political gossip of the day, this means that even though Mr. McAdoo might have a large majority, he could not be nominated without the consent of Tammany and its allies.

*A Rule
that Works
Badly*

The worst thing about the two-thirds rule is not its actual application in the convention, but its psychological influence in advance. It puts by far too much power in the hands of an intriguing minority. National conventions have more than a party responsibility. It is due to the whole country that the Republicans should offer the country a candidate who has been nominated by a truly representative convention. The "hand-picked" delegations from certain Southern States formed an element that at times has been manipulated to defeat the party's manifest will. In like manner, the two-thirds rule in Democratic conventions is a sinister thing that has a tendency to result in the selection of a compromise candidate. Almost everywhere except in Democratic national conventions the rule of the majority prevails. It is high time that public opinion, regardless of party, should bring its influence to bear for a change of the Democratic two-thirds rule.

*The New
President
at Work*

October 27, which is Theodore Roosevelt's birthday, has been designated again as Navy Day, with the approval of President Coolidge, who said in a letter to Secretary Denby:

"The date is appropriate in view of the part President Roosevelt played in making our modern navy, of his historical writings dealing with it, and of the demonstrations which, as President, he gave regarding effective utilization of naval power as a guarantee of peace."

Apropos of the anniversary, we are publishing in this number some reminiscences of a prominent Montana lawyer, Mr. Edward B. Howell, who speaks of two important appearances of Mr. Roosevelt at Butte, these being eighteen years apart. Officials of the National Civil Service Reform League have urged upon President Coolidge the total elimination of politics from the selection of postmasters and rural free delivery carriers. As matters now stand, appointments are made from the three who stand highest in the list of those certified as having

passed competitive examinations. The committee asks that the merit system be given full sway, and that the first name on the eligible list shall be chosen for appointment in each case. It would make a highly favorable impression if President Coolidge should take this view.

*Restlessness
and the
Ku Klux*

There are many indications of a political uneasiness throughout the country that ignores the old party lines. Thus, on September 10, a special municipal election was carried in the city of Portland, Maine, by the open efforts of the Ku Klux Klan. The Klansmen supported a proposed new charter which provides the Council-Manager plan of city government, as against the existing system of a Mayor, Alderman, and Councilmen. Although the victory has been hailed as a Klan affair, it is to be remembered that the new charter is of a type that has commended itself by experience in many cities; so that it might have been successful in Portland, even if there had been no such organization as the Ku Klux to support it. The election of a Mayor in Charleston, S. C., some weeks ago seems to have involved the Klan more directly, inasmuch as the Mayor, who was defeated for reelection, was in open opposition to the Klan and therefore invited an antagonism which might otherwise not have been so strongly evoked. The situation in Oklahoma is an extraordinary one. Klan activities have been regarded by Governor Walton as amounting to an attempt to rule the State as against the processes of government and law. The Governor had placed the city of Tulsa under martial law because of mob incidents attributed to the Ku Klux Klan, and last month this military régime was extended to the entire State. There are many incidents that serve to create the impression that Klan activities are on the increase, the items of news to this effect coming from every part of the United States. To what extent the Klan spirit may influence the elections next year cannot now be estimated. The remarkable interest in the personality of Henry Ford as shown in the South and West continues as a phenomenon that seems to have a good deal of political significance. The Farmer-Labor movement also is to be regarded as in its period of growth rather than of decline. That we are to have a highly interesting political year ahead of us is scarcely to be doubted.



© Underwood & Underwood

LEADERS OF THE ANTHRACITE MINERS IN CONFERENCE WITH THE UNITED STATES COAL COMMISSION AT NEW YORK CITY

(Seated, from left to right, are: Thomas Kennedy and John L. Lewis, representing the United Mine Workers of America; John Hays Hammond, chairman of the U. S. Coal Commission; and Thomas Riley Marshal and George Otis Smith, members of the commission. Standing, from left to right, are: E. E. Hunt, secretary of the Coal Commission; C. G. Golden and Rinaldo Cappelini, officials of the Mine Workers' union; and Charles P. Neill, a member of the Coal Commission)

The Coal Strike Settled On September 1 the anthracite coal miners went on strike after prolonged disagreements with the operators, chiefly over demands for a 20 per cent. increase in wages, the "check-off" system and the eight-hour day, the operators vainly offering to arbitrate the differences. The walkout of the miners was quiet and orderly. President Coolidge invited Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania to attempt a settlement of the strike, and he set to work at once, with characteristic energy. Bringing the representatives of the miners and the operators together, he put forward with due emphasis the rights of the public to an uninterrupted production of fuel, and made it clear that the strike must be promptly terminated. After numerous conferences the Governor's compromise proposals were accepted by both parties, with the promise of a return to work about September 20, after the miners' convention had formally approved the new agreement.

The Terms of Compromise The miners are gaining, in the new agreement—which is to run for two years—a 10 per cent. increase in wages and an eight-hour day, the operators giving up, also, their demand for arbitration. The chief concession made by the miners was the withdrawal of their stipulation for the check-off system, by which the operators would have been

forced to collect all union dues, assessments and fines from their employees' pay envelopes, turning the money over to the union officials. The agreement provides for collective bargaining in the matter of wage revisions. While the miners were in high feather over this result of the strike, announcing widely that it brought the best agreement ever made in the history of the industry, it cannot be said that either party is more than resting on its arms. The employers have been forced to give an increase in wages over those granted in 1920, at the peak of inflation, and they are determined to press their demands for arbitration. The winning of a wage increase so quickly has made the miners believe that they might have gained the full 20 per cent. they had asked for if they had held out longer.

Where the Public Comes In If the parties in controversy are not entirely satisfied, the general public using hard coal has still less reason to feel that its fuel troubles are over. It must now find the money to pay the increased miners' wages. Governor Pinchot has put this increased cost of producing coal at 60 cents per ton, and has been active in suggestions for preventing the additional cost from being added to consumers' prices. He has asked that the operators absorb 10 cents of the increase, and that the freight rates on anthracite coal be investigated to see if the railroads could

not reduce transportation charges. Some operators could absorb the 10 cents, others could not, and it is difficult to see how any of them can be made to do it. As to freight rates, the railroads are in a critical period of their existence. There is just dawning a hope that they can earn sufficient money to attract the capital absolutely needed to furnish adequate service to the public. No new facts have been presented tending to show that coal freight rates are out of line. And, on the other hand, these rates have been investigated and overhauled several times in the last few years. However, the Interstate Commerce Commission has begun a new and exhaustive inquiry; and it is generally predicted that anthracite freight rates will be lowered, though probably not until next spring. What this means, in the final analysis, is that the railroad workers will not get an increase in pay because the coal workers did get one; and most observers will conclude that it should have been the other way around.

Increased Costs: It looks, then, as if previous *Higher Prices* experiences with coal wage increases would be repeated, and that consumers will have to pay substantially more for their coal. The increase in their fuel costs will, too, probably be substantially larger than the 60 cents per ton given as the added wage cost resulting from the new agreement. The reason for this is that a certain portion of anthracite coal mined is not used for domestic purposes but for generating power in manufacturing plants. This part of the hard-coal output comes into direct and fierce competition with bituminous coal, of which there is now an oversupply, with lagging prices. Thus, something like a quarter of the anthracite mined is immune from increases in price to its consumer, and the burden of all increased wage costs is thrown on about 75 per cent. of the whole. The householder will, then, look forward to a higher expenditure, during the life of this agreement, for fuel—perhaps as much as 75 cents to one dollar a ton in excess of the prices recently paid. The next question is whether even at higher prices there will be a sufficient supply after the three weeks' shut-down of mining operations; to this there is a more cheerful answer. The anthracite mines have been producing this year at a rate never before recorded; up to August 25, 66,600,000 tons had been mined, against an output for the

twelve months of 1922 of only 41,000,000 tons and the previous record output (in 1917) of 77,000,000 tons for the entire year. There is no reason for any one to be without fuel if he has the money to pay for it.

*A Flood
of
Petroleum*

While we were hearing warnings and forebodings as to the rapidly diminishing supply of petroleum because of the steadily increasing consumption by motor-cars, steamships, and industry in general, new wells developed in Southern California and Texas and new methods of tapping petroleum deposits at very deep levels have brought a veritable flood of oil on the market. Every tanker available is conveying oil from the Pacific Coast through the Panama Canal to Eastern markets. Storage capacity has been increased to the limit of prudence. Wells have been shut in wherever it was physically possible, and where their owners were not apprehensive that near-by drillers would draw off such shut-in reserves. In August of last year, California was producing 375,000 barrels a day; in the same month of 1923 the daily production was 872,000 barrels. For the whole of the United States, the daily production for that month increased this year about 50 per cent., to a total of 2,250,000 barrels.

*Cheaper
Gasoline
for a Time*

So far as the heavier fuel oil is concerned, this astonishing gain in output has been offset importantly by the decline of Mexican production due to the encroachment of salt water in the wells of the Tampico and other districts—the largest producers in the world. But the new California fields supply a light and volatile oil, rich in gasoline content; and with it have come constantly improving methods of separating the gasoline fraction from the other constituents. In consequence, the monthly production of gasoline in the first half of 1923 has reached 14,600,000 barrels, as against 11,000,000 in the corresponding months of 1922. These astonishing figures of the supply would have been more portentous but for the accompanying increase in motor-cars and current gasoline consumption. The head of the Standard Oil Company calculates that a motor-car uses 12.6 barrels of gasoline per year, on the average. It is expected that 14,500,000 cars will be registered this year, requiring something like 183,000,000 barrels of gasoline for this one service alone.

The Law of Supply and Demand

However, not even this consumption could keep up with the new supply of gasoline; stocks in storage have largely increased. Even with many wells shut in, stocks of oil in this country increased by 10,000,000 barrels in June last and by 9,400,000 in July. There is a limit to the extension of storage facilities which are only to be used on rare emergencies like this; it costs 40 to 50 cents a barrel to build the steel storage tanks, and every one of them tends to depress further the selling price of oil. For a time, even under these conditions, consumers' prices of oil held steady, the big companies being reluctant to make drastic cuts and bring on themselves the reproach of attempting to ruin their smaller competitors. As generally happens in such an economic situation, prices broke heavily and generally on the occasion of an isolated incident, but more truly because of the underlying situation as to supply and demand. The Governor of South Dakota threatened to have gasoline sold at prices far below any known for years. Weak holders and small independents immediately rushed to get rid of their stocks, and the larger producers followed their regular policy of supplying customers at prices as low as could be obtained from others. Thus for a time the motorist's gasoline bills will be lower, but in the long run increases in consumption are fairly certain to be more steady and effective on prices than spectacular discoveries of new oil fields.

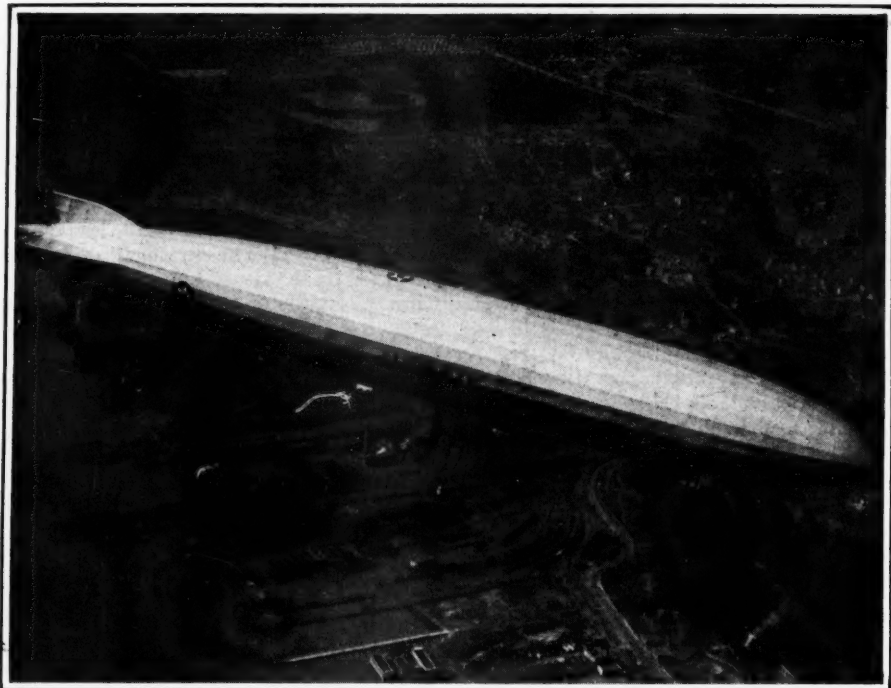
Oil Helps the Panama Canal

This recent movement of great quantities of oil from the Southern California fields to our eastern seaboard has completely transformed the operating statements of the Panama Canal. Aided, as well, by improved general business conditions, the canal accounts showed in the last fiscal year, ending June 30, 1923, a clean profit, over all expenses, amortization charges and interest on the investment, of \$3,129,986. The operations of the year before resulted in a deficit of \$4,890,143. The 1923 report shows an excess of income over operating expenses of \$10,000,000, the total business done in the twelve months being \$17,700,000. Governor Morrow of the Canal Zone believes that the "Big Ditch" will continue to show profits, and that these will become even larger than they were this year. Indeed, he thinks that when a larger

traffic is offered, the canal can handle twice the present volume of business with an increase of only 20 per cent. in expenses. It is true that of the total cost of the canal (\$384,686,658), a sum of \$112,103,082 was charged off as applicable to the defense of the nation, and interest and amortization are currently charged only on the remainder of the total cost. The amortization charges are based on the situation of each of a large number of units of construction, with lives estimated at from 10 to 100 years each.

The Crisis for Our Railroads

Like the Panama Canal, the railroads of the country are now carrying a volume of traffic never before approached, each succeeding month making a record. Moreover, the roads are saving enough of their receipts over expenditures to give the promise that, but for new governmental interference, they may again become solvent, self-respecting and useful members of our industrial society, giving prompt and sufficient service and earning a fair return on the huge sums that are necessary to provide facilities for this service. Only this situation will allow them to sell their stock to the public; and until they can do so, they are headed toward disaster. It is true that the comparatively handsome rate of net income reported last March—6.50 per cent. as against the Commerce Commission's "fair return" of 5.75 per cent.—has not been maintained, the July reports showing only 4.93 per cent. on the official investment valuation of \$19,175,000,000. But the statisticians look for a final return for the year of not less than 5 per cent., which would compare with 4¼ per cent. in 1922 and would be the best showing the roads have made since 1916. The National Industrial Conference Board has recently completed a special investigation of the railroads, and concludes that the next few months may determine their fate. The board notes the billion dollars the roads are expending; their rehabilitation from war-time chaos and deterioration, and concludes that the one hope for our transportation industry is that they may be successfully defended from the hostile and restrictive legislation threatened from the next Congress. Assaults on the Transportation Act have unfortunately been invited and made easier by the recent disagreements in the Interstate Commerce Commission, as to the valuation of particular lines for ratemaking purposes.



THE ZR-1 ON A TRIAL FLIGHT OF TWELVE HOURS OVER FOUR STATES

(The new Navy dirigible, built of duraluminum, flew over the cities of New York and Philadelphia and Camden and New Brunswick, N. J. She was built in eighteen months by Americans after the Zeppelin type, and is one of three originally ordered. ZR-2 [or R-34, as she was called in England] buckled amidships in flight tests last year, and was lost by fire. ZR-3 is nearly ready for delivery, in Germany, and is expected to be flown across the Atlantic by American Navy fliers. In the meantime our only rigid dirigible is scheduled to fly to St. Louis, Mo., for the air races on October 1, going by circuitous route in order to give millions of citizens an opportunity to see her gray and silver beauty)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From August 15 to September 15, 1923)

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

August 15.—Director General Hines of the Veterans Bureau, after considering protests of white persons against installation of Negro doctors at the veterans' hospital, at Tuskegee, Ala., orders six Negro doctors on duty there.

August 16.—Riots occur at Steubenville, Ohio, between 100 members of the Ku Klux Klan and a mob of 3,000 townspeople; several persons are badly hurt.

August 17.—The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Mellon, returns from Europe.

President Coolidge appoints as representatives at the forthcoming conference on suppressing illegal traffic in narcotics, at Geneva, under the League of Nations, Congressman Stephen G. Porter, Bishop Charles Brent, and Dr. Rupert Blue.

August 19.—At Macon, Ga., a gang of floggers and kidnappers is arrested after six months of terrorization; Steubenville, Ohio, is quiet; Tulsa, Okla., protests against martial law; Texas Rangers search out floggers.

August 20.—The United States Air Service carries out maneuvers involving a flight of sixteen Martin bombers for 800 miles, from Langley Field, Virginia, to Bangor, Me.

August 21.—The family of President Coolidge moves into the White House, Mrs. Harding having completed her moving on August 17.

August 22.—The air mail service of the Post Office Department establishes an experimental twenty-eight hour transcontinental mail service from New York to San Francisco.

August 23.—The federal district attorney at New York City announces 1065 convictions resulting from the termination of 1168 cases for violation of the Volstead Act.

August 25.—Near Pittsburgh, on Carnegie Hill, one Klansman is killed and nearly a hundred persons are injured in a riot arising out of a K. K. K. parade.

August 30.—At Perth Amboy, N. J., a mob of 5,000 persons breaks up a K. K. K. meeting in a hall; firemen and State troopers aid the city police in quelling the disturbance.

September 9.—Governor J. C. Walton announces that the first appearance of masked persons in public in any place in Oklahoma will be the signal for martial law in that district; the action, of course, is against the K. K. K.

September 10.—A police captain in New York

City, having testified as to bootleg graft by members of the force, resigns after a private conversation with Commissioner Enright.

The Ku Klux Klan, having backed the council-manager charter plan in a special election in Portland, Me., claims for itself the victory, the plan carrying by 9,928 votes to 6,859 in a heavy poll.

September 12.—Attorney General Daugherty reports that there have been 72,489 convictions out of over 90,000 cases of liquor law violation since January 16, 1920, and fines amounting to \$12,367,000 have been collected, while jail sentences during twenty-three months reached a total of 3,000 years.

September 14.—The Republican National Committee reduces Southern State representation to a basis of actual votes cast in 1920; the 1924 national convention will contain 1036 delegates, a gain of 52.

September 15.—Governor J. C. Walton proclaims martial law in the entire State of Oklahoma in his war on the Ku Klux Klan; Tulsa and Muskogee, the legislature, and the press are openly defying him; an Oklahoma City newspaper says the people are menaced by mob law on the one hand and by dictatorship on the other; military censorship over the *Tulsa Tribune* is withdrawn by executive order.

THE ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE

August 15.—The anthracite union miners, meeting with the Coal Commission at New York, offer to abandon their demand for a "check-off" of union dues (deduction from the pay envelopes), if the operators will stop deducting the expenses of rent, tools, taxes, oil, coal, insurance, Liberty bonds, and contributions to charity.

August 22.—President Coolidge authorizes Federal Fuel Distributor Francis R. Wadleigh to arrange a meeting of Governors at New York City, to organize the distribution of coal substitutes in event of an anthracite strike.

August 24.—Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania is designated by President Coolidge as federal mediator to prevent if possible a strike of anthracite coal miners, while the full scale committee of the union votes to strike.

August 24.—Governor Pinchot invites both groups in the anthracite controversy to a conference at Harrisburg.

August 27.—Governor Pinchot opens the coal conference by telling both sides that a strike cannot be tolerated.

August 28.—Eleven eastern Governors agree to carry out any federal plan suggested, in the event of a coal strike.

August 29.—Governor Pinchot proposes, after conference with both sides in the coal controversy, that all employees shall receive 10 per cent. increase in pay, an eight-hour day, full recognition of the union without the check-off, and also recognition of the principle of collective bargaining.

August 31.—As no agreement has yet been reached, anthracite miners, numbering about 158,000, quit work.

September 6.—The anthracite coal operators accept Governor Pinchot's plan of settlement, but the miners continue to insist on the check-off of union dues and more than 10 per cent. increase for 90,000 day laborers.

September 8.—The anthracite coal strike settlement terms are signed by both sides, the miners'



THE GREATEST AIRSHIP GREET'S THE WORLD'S LARGEST BUILDING

(The ZR-1, paying a "flying visit" to the City of New York on September 11, is shown in the air over the Woolworth Building. The giant airship was entirely built in the United States, at Lakehurst, N. J., weighs only 33 tons, is 680 feet long with a beam of 78 feet, is driven by six motors, making 60 miles per hour, and cost \$1,500,000.)

leaders accepting the proposals and claiming a victory; the men are expected to resume work in ten days.

September 9.—Governor Pinchot suggests to President Coolidge that the Interstate Commerce Commission revise coal transportation rates, and that other action be taken to prevent the sixty cents a ton increase in anthracite mining cost being passed on to the consumer.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

August 15.—At Ennis, County Clare, in Ireland, Eamon de Valera is captured by Free State troops while speaking at an election campaign meeting.

August 18.—Southern Ireland nominates 400 candidates for 153 seats in the Free State Parliament under party designations as the Cumann Na Nghaedheal or Government party, the de Valera party of Republicans, the Farmers' party, Labor, and others.

August 21.—Rudolf Havenstein, president of the German Reichsbank, refuses to resign.

August 26.—President Ebert, of Germany, signs a decree compelling a loan to stabilize the mark, now quoted at 6,000,000 to the dollar.

August 27.—The Irish elections are held for 153 seats in the Southern Parliament; 63 Free Staters are elected, 44 Republicans, 15 Farmers, 15 Laborites, and 16 Independents; the elections are remarkably quiet.

August 28.—Count Gombei Yamamoto is appointed to succeed the late Baron Kato as Premier of Japan.

September 1.—The Spanish Cabinet resigns.

September 6.—The Stresemann government in Germany decides on policies of a dictatorial nature for stabilizing the mark, officially quoted at 33,000,000 to the dollar; one feature is the introduction of Helfferich's gold-rye currency, at the rate of 200 rye marks to the price of one ton of rye.

September 13.—A Spanish junta or military group starts a revolution at Barcelona, headed by Captain-General Miguel Primo Rivera.

September 14.—King Alfonso refuses to support Premier Alhucemas in his attempts to provide punishment for revolting army officers; Alhucemas resigns and Generals Cavalcanti, Sara, Daban, and Federico Berenguer compose a military directorate presided over by General Munoz Cobo of Madrid; martial law prevails and the country is quiet.

September 15.—General Rivera takes office as president of a military directorate in Spain; the High Commissioner for Morocco, Luis Silvela, is dismissed and his successor is General Luis Aizpuru; Señor Espinosa de los Monteros is Foreign Minister.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

August 15.—The Mexican-American conference ends at Mexico City with the signature of the records by J. Ralph Ringe, secretary for the American group, and by Juan F. Urquidí for Mexico; the record embodies an agreement forming the basis for a resumption of diplomatic relations, the result of thirteen weeks of negotiation between John Barton Payne and Charles Beecher Warren for America and Fernando Gonzales Roa and Ramon Ross for Mexico, interpreting Article XXVII of the Mexican Constitution of 1917 so that all prior rights are upheld.

August 16.—Secretary of State Hughes informs all American embassies that President Coolidge has endorsed the position of the United States on reparations as Mr. Hughes outlined it in a speech at New Haven in December, 1922.

August 17.—Ratifications of the Washington Conference treaties—relating to naval disarmament and to Pacific problems—are exchanged at Washington by diplomats representing the United States, France, England, Japan and Italy; the Anglo-Japanese alliance comes to an end.

The World Court decides that Germany had no right to close the Kiel Canal to the British steamer *Wimbledon* in 1921, and that Germany must make compensation.

August 20.—Moroccan fighting breaks out with a serious ambush of Spanish troops by the Moors at Tdargo.

August 21.—Reinforcements are sent to Morocco to relieve the garrison besieged at Tifarutin; the Moors have 10,000 men in the field, the Spaniards 50,000.

August 23.—At Angora, the Turkish National Assembly ratifies the Lausanne Treaty, 215 members voting for it out of 235.

August 25.—The Belgian reply to the British reparations note suggests further notes would be unsatisfactory and proposes a resumption of direct negotiations.

August 26.—The Bulgarian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, M. Daskaloff, is assassinated by a young Bulgarian; Daskaloff had been appointed by Premier Stambolisky.

August 29.—Italy demands of Greece a formal apology, 50,000,000 lire indemnity, and full honors to the Italian fleet by the Greek fleet in Piræus, because of the assassination of five Italian members of the Greco-Albanian boundary mission at Janina, Albania, on August 27; a rigorous inquiry is demanded also, in the presence of the Italian military attaché; an answer is expected within twenty-four hours.

August 30.—Secretary of State Hughes, speaking at Minneapolis, redefines the Monroe Doctrine, saying that it is a policy vitally related to national safety, imposing no barrier to broader international understanding, and inimical to no just interest in Latin America or anywhere.

Greece accepts four Italian demands, but rejects three on the ground they infringe the sovereignty and honor of Greece.

An Italian warship stops at Tangier in Spanish Morocco, and lands troops to protect Italian interests.

August 31.—The United States formally recognizes the Obregon Government, Mexico, resuming diplomatic relations broken off in May, 1920.

Premier Mussolini announces that Italy considers the Greek reply a rejection of Italian demands. . . . An Italian fleet bombards and occupies the Greek Island of Corfu, which gives them complete control of the Adriatic Sea; several Armenian refugees are killed.

The League of Nations Assembly convenes at Geneva.

The Yugoslav delegation conferring with Italy on Fiume agrees to the administration of Fiume and all adjoining contested territory by a mixed commission representing Italy, Yugoslavia, and the Free State of Fiume.

September 1.—Italian forces occupy the islands of Paxos and Antipaxos, in the Ionian group; Greece calls upon the League of Nations to decide the issue with Italy.

In the Council of the League of Nations, Lord Robert Cecil of England and ex-Premier Branting of Sweden vigorously oppose the Italian member's claim that the League is not competent to settle the Greco-Italian crisis; and it is understood in Paris that the French Government has advised Italy to agree to League intervention.

September 2.—Italy declines to recognize that the League of Nations has jurisdiction in its dispute with Greece.

September 3.—President Coolidge calls upon Americans to contribute in giving relief to the people of Japan; the American Red Cross starts a \$5,000,000 fund.

Premier Mussolini is reported to have threatened to withdraw Italian delegates from the League Assembly at Geneva if his viewpoint regarding Greece is not acquiesced in by the League.

September 4.—Greece proposes to the League Council that it shall appoint a neutral to superintend an investigation into the recent murders, and offers to deposit 50,000,000 lire in a Swiss bank pending determination of indemnity.

Premier Mussolini declares that Italy will withdraw from the League if it attempts to intervene in the controversy with Greece.

September 5.—The United States Government admits about 2,000 immigrants illegally brought to America beyond the monthly quota, but fines the steamship companies \$200 for each immigrant plus his passage money of about \$100—a total of about \$600,000.

Dr. Cosme de la Torriente (Cuban) is elected president of the League of Nations Assembly.

In the League Council hearing on the Italo-Greek crisis, Signor Salandra expresses Italy's irrevocable opinion "that the Council should not proceed at the request of Greece"; he holds that the Conference of Ambassadors (in which Greece is not represented) shall decide the matter because it appointed the Albanian boundary commission whose Italian members were assassinated.

The Conference of Ambassadors accepts in principle the proposal to investigate the causes of the Italo-Greek dispute.

September 7.—The Conference of Ambassadors notifies Greece and the League of its agreement on the following plan of reparations in the Italo-Greek controversy: an Italian naval squadron, with one French and one British warship, to be saluted by the Greeks at Piræus, military honors to the victims, a memorial service at Athens, all immediate; and a deposit of 50,000,000 lire as a guarantee of whatever indemnity may be decided upon; a committee of inquiry is appointed, consisting of one Frenchman, one Englishman, one Italian, and a Japanese chairman.

September 8.—Greece presents an ultimatum to Albania, demanding surrender of the assassins who murdered the Italian boundary mission; Italy accepts the terms of the Conference of Ambassadors and agrees to evacuate Corfu when Greece has satisfied reparations demands.

A general claims convention for settlement of claims between Mexico and the United States arising since July 4, 1868, is signed by Secretary Hughes and by Commissioners Warren and Payne for the United States, and by Manuel C. Tellez, Mexican Chargé d'Affaires.

September 9.—Greece unreservedly accepts the terms of the Conference of Ambassadors; Albania offers to send forces over the Greek border to arrest the Janina murderers if Greece is unable to.

September 10.—The League Assembly admits the Irish Free State to full membership by unanimous vote.

September 11.—Greece arrests eight persons suspected of the murder of the members of the Italian boundary commission; Colonel Shibouya (Japanese) and Colonel Lacombe (French) start for Janina as members of the board of inquiry.

September 12.—It is learned that under the new arrangement regarding Fiume, which is yet to be ratified by Yugoslavia, the city is to go to Italy, while the delta and Porto Barros go to Yugoslavia, each having undisputed political and administrative control over its portion, while the port as a whole is to be run jointly.



MR. WALTER W. HEAD, BANKER

(It was understood last month that Mr. Head would be elected president of the American Bankers' Association, at its convention in Atlantic City on September 26. Besides being president of the Omaha National Bank, Mr. Head is a practical farmer, owning and personally directing a 2200-acre farm near St. Joseph, Mo. Born in Illinois forty-five years ago, Mr. Head entered banking in 1903, after a brief career as public-school teacher and principal in Missouri. His banking experience has been in DeKalb and St. Joseph, Missouri, and since 1917 in Omaha, Neb.)

The Prince of Wales arrives incognito at Quebec, Canada.

September 13.—Italy agrees with the Council of Ambassadors to leave Corfu and the Greek islands before October 1; Italy will make certain extra reparation demands in case Greek action does not prove satisfactory.

September 15.—The Treaty of Rapallo (1920) and the agreement of Santa Margherita (1922) are filed with the secretariat of the League of Nations by Italy, following their filing by Yugoslavia; the action forecasts direct negotiation, with arbitration if there should be a deadlock.

THE SITUATION IN THE RUHR

August 21.—The French reply to the British reparations note is delivered at Paris; it justifies the French program, replies to British allegations of illegality of the Ruhr seizure, and states the French theory of how Germany can be made to pay the 26,000,000,000 gold marks that France demands as a minimum, plus what she must pay Britain and the United States, figuring that Germany must pay a total of from 50,000,000,000 to 53,000,000,000 gold marks.

September 10.—It is reported that Berlin has ordered a cessation of passive resistance against the French and Belgian occupation of the Ruhr, follow-



© Harris & Ewing

THE EXCHANGE OF RATIFICATIONS OF THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE TREATIES

(Our picture shows Secretary Hughes in the center, presiding over the ceremony of ratification exchanges. The treaties ended the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, settled Pacific questions, and established an international policy of naval disarmament)

ing notice by the French Ambassador that no official negotiations would be permitted until passive resistance ceased.

September 11.—Chancellor Stresemann calls on the French Ambassador at Berlin to "exchange thoughts" about reparations.

September 12.—German Chancellor Stresemann talks over reparations with a great gathering of newspaper editors at Berlin; he says passive resistance has failed in the Rhineland and suggests giving guarantees of private property to France in addition to those public assets named in the Treaty of Versailles.

NATURE'S UPHEAVAL IN THE PACIFIC

August 15.—The four western provinces of Korea are visited by tidal waves and a typhoon which kill 346 persons and destroy 25,000 houses along the Yalu River.

August 18.—At Hongkong a typhoon strikes the harbor, sinking more than fifty vessels and resulting in considerable loss of life and property; estimates place the dead at about 200.

September 1-2.—The most disastrous earthquake of modern times destroys life and property on the mainland of Japan; there are nearly 300 distinct shocks; in the cities—Tokyo, Yokohama, and elsewhere—water mains burst and fire completes the catastrophe.

September 4.—Japanese reports indicate the disappearance of some small islands and that new islands have been forced up from the ocean bed; rivers have changed their courses and harbors are disturbed; volcanic eruptions are also prevalent.

Ground swells twenty feet high strike the California coast.

September 6.—Organized relief begins to get refugees out of Tokyo and Yokohama, and Japanese army engineers and transport troops restore railroad and telegraph communications; the first relief ship from America leaves San Francisco with 300 tons of rice; other ships load cargoes of army stores, medical supplies, fresh meats, blankets,

vegetables, grain, and dried fruits; an army transport leaves Manila with doctors, nurses, marines, and 1000 tons of supplies.

September 8.—The American Red Cross announces it has received subscriptions for Japanese relief totalling over \$3,000,000.

Seven destroyers of the United States Navy run on the rocks north of Santa Barbara, Cal., during a fog, and become total wrecks; twenty-two lives are lost while 600 are rescued; it is reported that the flotilla was twenty miles off its course, steaming at twenty knots; several hours earlier, the Pacific Mail steamer *Cuba*, nearing San Francisco from Central and South American ports, went ashore in the same vicinity.

September 9.—The Japanese Cabinet votes 530,000,000 yen for earthquake relief work; approval by the Prince Regent and the Privy Council is assured. Japanese news agencies estimate the dead in Tokyo at 43,000 and in Yokohama at 100,000.

September 10.—Tokyo estimates the earthquakes casualties in all districts at 1,500,000, the dead numbering more than 200,000. . . . The Japanese embassy at Washington publishes an official statement that 1,356,000 or two-thirds of the population of Tokyo were rendered homeless.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

August 20.—The *ZR-1*, new American navy rigid dirigible, is launched at Lakehurst, N. J., where it has been under construction for eighteen months.

Six American tourists are killed and eleven injured in a bus wreck in the Maritime Alps at Le Panier, near Guillaume.

August 25.—The Postal Telegraph & Cable Company lands a new transatlantic cable at Far Rockaway, N. Y., from Europe.

August 29.—An army airplane, piloted by Captain Lowell H. Smith and Lieutenant John P. Richter, makes a new world record for sustained flight, the plane being refueled and the men reprovisioned in the air while flying 37 hours, 15 minutes, and 14 4-5 seconds—an hour and ten minutes longer than the previous record.

August 30.—The U. S. S. *Colorado* is commissioned at Camden, N. J. It cost \$27,000,000, burns oil, displaces 32,600 tons, mounts eight 16-inch guns, and speeds at 21 knots; under the naval disarmament agreement, it will for ten years remain the most powerful vessel in the United States navy.

A relief expedition sent from Alaska to Wrangell Island returns and reports that Alan R. Crawford and his party, who landed and claimed the island as British in 1921, have died, with the exception of one Eskimo woman.

September 4.—The *ZR-1* dirigible airship makes a perfect test flight at Lakehurst, N. J.

September 7.—Dr. William Arnold Shanklin resigns as president of Wesleyan University.

September 9.—The 1923 revival of the Pony Express finished its run from St. Joseph, Mo., to San Francisco, Cal., in a lapsed time of nine days, four hours and fifteen minutes; the actual riding time is 158 hours, 8 minutes for 2180 miles, and beats the best old record by 42 hours; Will Tevis, Jr., finishes the last 260 miles himself in 13 hours, 58 minutes. (See page 433.)

September 12.—The city of Ilion, N. Y., celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of the invention and manufacture of the typewriter by Christopher Latham Sholes.

September 13.—A Navy-Curtiss racing plane piloted by Lieutenant H. J. Brow at Mitchell Field, Mineola, N. Y., flies at the rate of 244 miles an hour in an official flight.

September 15.—Alain J. Gerbault, French tennis star and yachtsman, arrives at New York on a ten-ton thirty-foot racing sailboat, after traveling 5600 miles in 142 days, alone.

OBITUARY

August 15.—Thomas Ellis Brown, noted engineer, who helped construct the New York elevated railways, developed modern high-speed elevators, and built incline railways, 67.

August 17.—Marie Wainwright, well-known actress, 70. . . . Sir Alexander Lacoste, noted Canadian jurist and statesman, 81.

August 18.—Graham Barclay Dennis, of Spokane, Washington, a Western pioneer in mining, 68.

August 20.—William E. Curtis, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in Cleveland's second administration, 68.

August 21.—Sir William Meredith, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Ontario, 83.

August 23.—Mrs. Kate Douglas Wiggin, widely known American novelist, 64. . . . Waldo H. Marshall, formerly president of the American Locomotive Co., 59. . . . David Benton Jones, prominent leader in the zinc industry, 75. . . . Baron Tomasaburo Kato, Premier of Japan, naval hero of the Russo-Japanese War, and noted diplomat, 62.

August 25.—Dr. James Leonard Corning, author and neurologist, 67.

August 26.—Caldwell Hardy, banker, of Norfolk, Va., 71.

August 27.—Alonzo Kimball, magazine illustrator and portrait painter, 49. . . . Letty Lind, English actress and dancer, 60. . . . Mrs. Bertha Ayrton, British electrical engineer.

August 28.—Franklin Haven Sargent, teacher of dramatic art, 67.

August 29.—Princess Anastasia, American wife of Prince Christopher of Greece, 46. . . . Princess Lwoff-Parlaghy, portrait painter, 58. . . . John J. Mack, Yale track coach, 53.

August 30.—Rear Admiral Harry Knox, U. S. N., retired, 75.

August 31.—Leland Sterry, manager of the United States Hotel at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., 45.

September 1.—Prince Matsukata, Japanese elder statesman, 88. . . . Max D. Kirjasoff, American Consul at Tokyo.

September 2.—James Campbell Cantrill, Representative in Congress from Kentucky and Democratic nominee for Governor, 53. . . . Richard Hartley Cook, textile authority, of Fall River, Mass., 74.

September 4.—Rev. Alphonsus John Donlon, S. J., former president of Georgetown University, 55.

. . . Judge William Cary Van Fleet, of the United States District Court at San Francisco, 71.

. . . John Stout, former Indian scout for General Custer, 96. . . . Thomas Sebastian Byrne, Roman Catholic Bishop of Nashville, 82.

September 5.—Langdon Gibson, naturalist, scientist, and explorer.

September 6.—Edward Payson Dutton, the book publisher, 92. . . . Sir William Purdie Treloar, former Lord Mayor of London, 80. . . . Dr. Seth Scott Bishop, a distinguished Illinois surgeon, 71.

September 7.—William Roscoe Thayer, noted American biographer, 64. . . . James M. Tuohy, London correspondent of the *New York World* for thirty years, 64. . . . James Vincent Ganley, Representative in Congress from New York City, 45.

September 8.—William H. Card, of Manchester, Conn., widely known poultry breeder. . . . Ernest van Dyck, Belgian operatic tenor, 62.

September 9.—Jonathan Amory Haskell, gunpowder and automobile manufacturer, 62.

September 10.—Marshal Hermes Rodrigues da Fonseca, former President of Brazil, 68.

September 12.—Richmond Pearson, former Minister to Persia, Greece, and Montenegro, 71. . . . Dr. Mary Pierson Eddy, medical missionary to Syria.

September 13.—Very Rev. Henry Patterson Glenn, former moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 65.

September 14.—Sigmund Lubin, pioneer motion-picture producer.



POINCARÉ AND MUSSOLINI

AS INTERPRETED IN CARTOONS



THE FRENCH PREMIER AS THE MODERN
GENGHIS KHAN

[Who is remembered for his thirst of conquest]
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)



AS IMMOVABLE AS THE FRENCH ARMIES
AT VERDUN

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)



SALOME-POINCARÉ: "I WANT THE HEAD OF
JOHN THE GERMAN!"

From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich, Switzerland)



POINCARÉ AND THE GERMAN WATCH

THE BRITISH PREMIER, BALDWIN: "I understand your feelings
old man; but that's the worst way to make the billy thing go
From the *Evening News* (Glasgow, Scotland)



HATS OFF TO FRANCE'S BLOOMING CHEEK!

From the *Star* (London, England)



PASSIVE RESISTANCE

From the *Daily Express* (London, England)



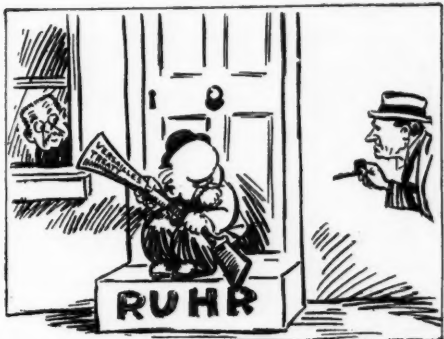
PEACE COMES TO THE RUHR

POINCARÉ: "Glad to see you, Father Time. But where's your beard and scythe?"

VISITOR: "You've made a mistake. I'm Peace!"

(Poincaré has always insisted that, given time, the Ruhr occupation policy will be successful.)

From the *Evening Express* (Cardiff, Wales)



THE BILL COLLECTOR AND HIS BLUNDERBUSS

BALDWIN (to the man in possession—Poincaré): "I say! I should throw away that gun, and get off his doorstep. Then he may come out and talk business."

From the *South Wales News* (Cardiff, Wales)



THE FRENCHMAN: "Mon Dieu! German Militarism!"



THE BRITON: "Damit! German Industry!"

FEARS OF THE CONQUERED

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)

**BELGIUM'S INDEPENDENCE**

"Belgium has no intention to part from France."

From *De Notenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)

**KEEPING HIS COUNTRY DRY**

UNCLE SHAM (to the visiting British steamship officer):
"Shorry, you two fellers, mustht confiscate it all. America's
gotter make thish world shafe for hypocrishty."

From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)

**UNCLE SAM AND JOHN BULL EXPLAIN TO FRANCE THAT GERMANY HAS NO MONEY**

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)

**FRENCH AND BELGIAN HARMONY**

"Theunis and I are completely in agreement. As proof of
this we both send separate answers!"

From *L'Ere Nouvelle* (Paris, France)



JOHN BULL (to France): "You see, Marianne, it is out of the
question for Germany to pay us back—"



"So I will not wait for her to pay you before handing you this
little bill."

THE BRITISH POINT OF VIEW

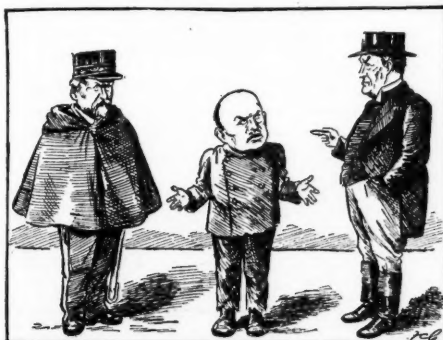
From *Œuvre* (Paris, France)



THE SICK MAN RESTORED

THE POWERS (as the Turk throws away his crutch): "And we had divided up the inheritance!"

From *Noteskraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



A HINT

THE GERMAN CHANCELLOR: "I assure you, Mr. Bull, we have no—"

MR. BULL: "Look here, Herr Stresemann, if you're wise you'll cut out the bananas and talk business."

From the *Westminster Gazette* (London, England)

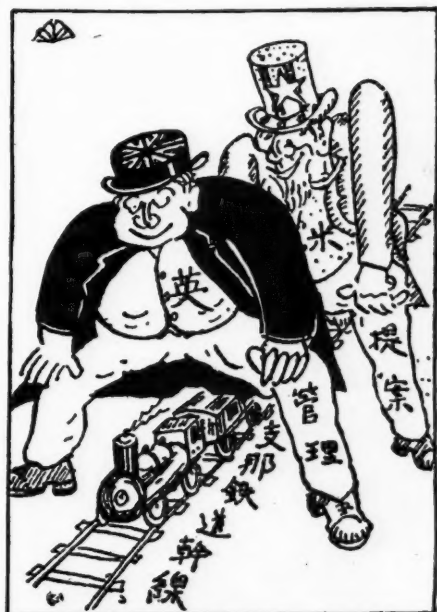


THE MORE MONEY HE HAS THE POORER HE BECOMES—From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



WILL THE TIED TURN?—OR THE STORY OF JOHN BULL GULLIVER'S TRAVAILS

From the *Bystander* (London, England)



A JAPANESE VIEW OF THE FUTURE OF CHINESE RAILWAYS

From *Yorodan* (Tokyo, Japan)

[A story without words]



THE KAISER'S ADVICE TO MUSSOLINI: "EASY, BROTHER! EASY!"

From the Tribune © (Chicago, Ill.)

THE principal event of the month in European affairs was the assassination of five Italian members of the Albanian Boundary Commission, followed immediately by vigorous action which indicated that Italy believed Greek officials to be behind the murders. Premier Mussolini issued an ultimatum to Greece, comprising a series of reparation demands and re-



THE WAR GOD'S HOPE!

From the Blade (Toledo, Ohio)

quiring a reply within twenty-four hours. The ultimatum was seized upon by American cartoonists as an indication that wars in Europe had not ceased with the advent of the League of Nations.

Meanwhile, at about the same time, the United States was renewing friendly diplomatic relations with Mexico, after a break which occurred in 1920.



DEFYING THE LIGHTNING

From the Tribune (South Bend, Ind.)



UNCLE SAM AND HIS MEXICAN NEIGHBOR GETTING TO BE GOOD FRIENDS AGAIN

From the News-Tribune (Tacoma, Wash.)



OUR STATESMEN RETURN FROM EUROPE, BUT THEY DON'T AGREE ON THE PATIENT'S CONDITION

From the News (Chicago, Illinois)



IS THIS SEAT OCCUPIED?

From the World (New York)



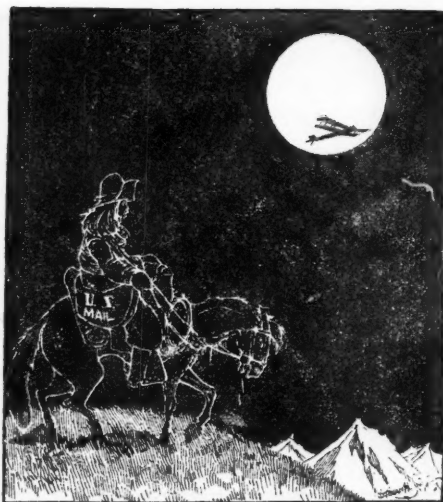
HOW DOES THE GERMAN KNOW HE CAN'T MOVE THE ROCK, WHEN HE HASN'T TRIED?

From the Pioneer Press (St. Paul, Minn.)



THE COAL STRIKE IS SETTLED!

From the Star (Montreal, Canada)



**THE PONY-EXPRESS RIDER—"AND THEY
THOUGHT I WAS FAST"**

From the *News* (San Francisco, Cal.)



BROTHERS IN THE POSTAL SERVICE

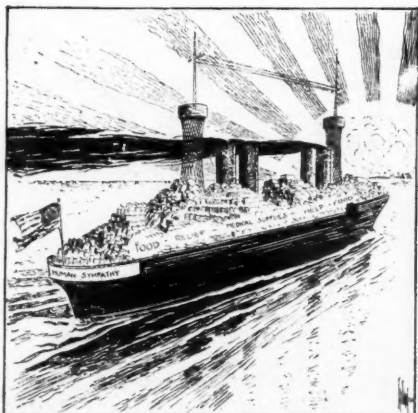
From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, Mo.)

[The post-office late in August demonstrated that a 28-hour air mail service can be maintained between San Francisco and New York.]



NOTHING AT ALL FOR SOME PEOPLE—BUT PLENTY FOR A WORTHY CAUSE

From the *News* (Cleveland, Ohio)



**AT LAST OUR WARSHIPS ARE RUSHED TO
JAPAN**

From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



**THE FARMER COMES OUT AT THE SMALL END
OF THE HORN**

From *Capper's Weekly* (Washington, D. C.)

THE JAPANESE EARTHQUAKE

BY EDGAR W. WOOLARD

(Division of Seismological Investigations, U. S. Weather Bureau)

FEARFUL indeed is the plight of man when the solid earth itself trembles beneath his feet, and his faith in *terra firma* is shattered. Yet, on an average of 4000 times yearly, such an event occurs in some part of the world; in the United States alone, a hundred or more earthquakes are distinctly felt each year, and many fainter tremors are recorded by delicate seismographs. Our globe is trembling somewhere nearly all the time. Fortunately, the great majority of these disturbances are feeble and harmless, or else occur in uninhabited regions; according to Milne, only 4151 destructive earthquakes took place between 7 A. D. and 1899.

Earthquakes result from sudden displacements of portions of the earth's "crust"; such displacements occur in connection with volcanic operations and with the growth of mountain ranges. Volcanic quakes, while often severe, seldom are noticeable beyond a few miles from their origins; but the disturbances caused by the fracturing of the solid crust of the earth, or by intermittent slipping along breaks ("faults") already formed—often hundreds of miles in length—may completely devastate hundreds of square miles of territory, and send vibrations through the entire globe. In the Indian quake of 1897, tremors of greater or less intensity were felt without the aid of instruments over one and three-quarter millions of square miles; and any destructive shock is usually recorded by seismographs all over the world.

The seismic regions of the earth are those in which extensive layers of rock of great thickness have been intensely folded, dislocated, and elevated when the principal existing mountain chains were born; they occur in great bands, generally following the lines of elevation which bound the huge oceanic basins—regions of recent, or even still-continuing, mountain growth. The rocks are held by friction and pressure under increasing strain, until they yield; slipping

suddenly, like a spring, they communicate an elastic shock or jar to the crust of the earth, and vibrations spread out in all directions, with velocities of several miles per second. The slip usually takes place at a depth of one or more miles beneath the surface, but in many cases the break continues right up to the surface; the vibratory motion, together with the sudden displacements of the ground—often amounting to 10 or 20 feet or more, vertically or horizontally or both—cause general destruction over a wide area. Alarming sounds issue from the bowels of the earth; and if the quake occurs near or underneath the ocean it is followed by a series of great sea-waves (popularly misnamed "tidal waves"), called *tsunamis* by the Japanese. To the unaided senses, the shock appears to last for from a few seconds in a weak quake to several minutes in a destructive one; at a distant



© E. M. Newman

VOLCANIC SULPHUR FUMES RISING FROM
EVER-CHANGING EARTH FORMATIONS IN
THE SEISMIC REGIONS OF JAPAN

point, seismographs often continue to register small vibrations for two or three hours. A strong earthquake is invariably followed by a great number—it may be hundreds—of weaker shocks.

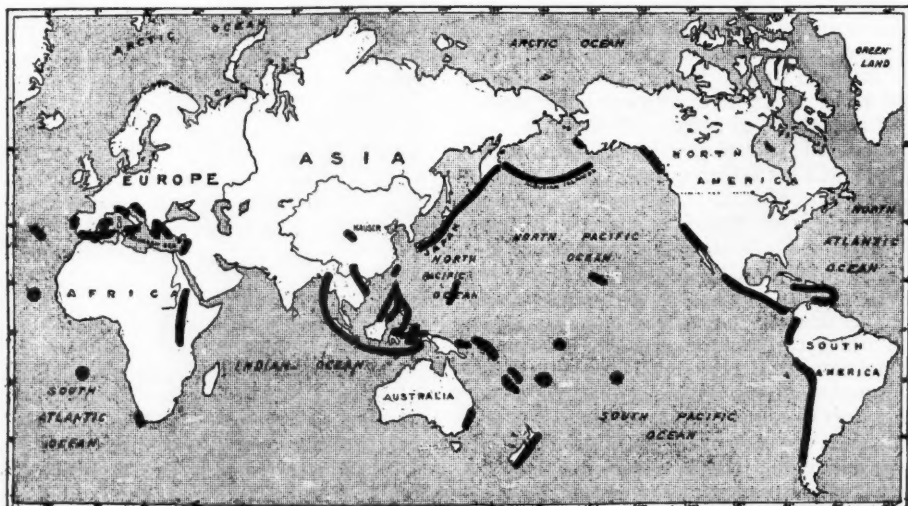
The most unstable region of the earth at the present time is that along the western margin of the Pacific. It was in Japan, probably the most seismic region in the world, that Seismology as a science was born, about forty years ago, through the pioneer work of the British scientists J. Milne, J. A. Ewing, and T. Gray. The earthquakes of the Japanese Empire have been studied more carefully than those of any other country; the foremost living authority on these terrifying manifestations of Nature is Omori.

The Japanese islands are arranged in the form of a festoon, with its convexity facing the Pacific Ocean; this convex side slopes much more steeply than the concave edge. The Japan Sea to the west is shallow, but on the Pacific side the land in one place plunges down into the great Tuscara Deep to a depth of over 26,000 feet within 110 to 240 miles of the coast! Earthquakes are most numerous and violent on this slope.

Earth tremors are a matter of daily routine for the Japanese people; 12,700 were recorded in the ten years 1885-1894; and from 1902 to 1907 the average annual number was 1605. However, from 1601 to 1898 only 108 destructive quakes visited the

country—one on an average of every $2\frac{3}{4}$ years—and only a few of these rank as outstanding disasters. The quake of 1703 is reported to have cost 200,000 lives; in the Mino-Owari disaster of 1891, 7000 lives were lost. And on the evening of August 31, last, shortly after 10 p.m., Eastern Standard Time (near Saturday noon at Tokio), seismographs all over the earth traced out the message of another great disaster in Japan, in which, as nearly as can be ascertained at present, over 200,000 people were killed, and an immense amount of property destroyed, Tokio and Yokohama being virtually laid in ruins.

Because of the meager and, in part, uncertain press reports which have come to us, and the total absence of scientific observations, we cannot accurately estimate how the present quake compares with other great earthquakes of history. The loss of life and destruction of property accompanying a shock measures its importance to mankind, but does not necessarily convey a correct impression of the intensity of the disturbance; a severe quake may attract little attention if it occurs in an uninhabited region. The Kansu earthquake (China) of December, 1920, is little known, as it occurred in a remote district from which news was weeks in emanating, but from 40,000 to 180,000 lives are estimated to have been lost. The great Lisbon quake, 1755, cost 40,000 lives; that at Messina, 1908, 80,000.



THE EARTHQUAKE REGIONS OF THE WORLD—GENERALLY HIGH PLACES WHICH BOUND THE GREAT OCEANIC BASINS

REBUILDING IN JAPAN

BY CHARLES A. BEARD

[Last month Dr. Beard, who had only recently returned from Japan, contributed to this REVIEW a brief character sketch of Viscount Goto, "Japan's Statesman of Research." Hardly had the September REVIEW reached its readers, when the great earthquake in Japan occurred. Viscount Goto was named in the new cabinet as Minister of Home Affairs, and to him was committed the great task of directing reconstruction in his country. On the day he took office he cabled to Dr. Beard, requesting his aid in the emergency. Mr. R. Fulton Cutting, chairman of the board of trustees of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, placed the resources of the Bureau at the free disposal of Dr. Beard, who sailed from Seattle on September 23 as the envoy of the Bureau to the stricken country. He had already given many months of earnest study to the peculiar problems of the Japanese cities, as the following article reveals.—THE EDITOR]

ON THE eve of the great disaster of September 1, Japan proper had six "premier cities," as she was proud to call them: Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe, Kyoto, Nagoya, and Yokohama. Within their borders dwelt one-tenth of the Japanese nation. The first, with a population of 2,173,162, according to the census of 1920, and the last, with 422,942 inhabitants, lie in ruins. Yokohama, it seems, is almost a total wreck. During its short life of little more than half a century it had grown from the mere fishing village which Commodore Perry visited in 1853 into a splendid port with extensive dockyards, iron works, and commercial undertakings. Now it is a heap of ashes. Tokyo, the first city of the Empire, the capital, the center of finance, industry, and statecraft, is but a shadow of its former self. All along Tokyo Bay, westward and northward to the mountains, suburbs, villages, and towns have been shaken down by earthquake, ravaged by fire, or scourged by tidal waves.

Estimated Property Losses

The loss of life in this awful convulsion of nature can not be estimated now, and it will be a long time before an official reckoning is available. It seems certain, however, that the early reports were exaggerated and that the figure may fall below 200,000, but that reduced estimate is staggering enough. The economic loss can not and never will be determined. At present only wildest guesses have come through the press reports. Relatively close figures never can be secured because Japan had no system of real-estate assessment to place on record the value of land and buildings. It is true that there

was an Imperial valuation of land several years ago, but it was only a rough guess at best. There never has been a scientific assessment of buildings. Japan has nothing like the American system of full-value assessment and real-estate taxation.

A careful estimate of real-estate values in Tokyo, based on all available data, was made in June, 1923, by the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research, and it is conservative to say that the taxable land and structures were worth then approximately \$1,700,000,000. The land remains. Two-thirds of the structures of the city must be in ruins. The value of all the taxable buildings was roughly \$1,000,000,000. The loss on taxable buildings in Tokyo alone must be in the neighborhood of \$600,000,000. But this leaves out of account all public buildings (Imperial, municipal, and prefectural), merchandise in shops, machinery, street cars, automobiles, telephone, telegraph, and electric wires, libraries, museums, treasures of art, temples, churches, and other incalculable values. These figures are for the legal municipality of Tokyo; the jurisdiction of the city government extends over about one-seventh of the urban area. To the south, west, and north of the city were suburbs which suffered losses of a character unknown at present. Yokohama suffered still more. Great spinning mills in the earthquake zone are down. There will be huge losses incident to the stoppage of business for many months. It is safe to say that all in all the losses will run into the billions.

If we can not now make a reckoning in mathematical terms of the losses suffered by these cities, we can perhaps prepare our

minds to measure the significance of the facts when they come by taking a survey of the ground as things stood on that day when Tokyo was both proud and happy and ruined and desolate. A brief history of the capital and a summary account of its social and economic life will furnish a setting or background for the new day that is certain to dawn over the wreck of its former splendor.

Tokyo's Growth as a Metropolis

Tokyo is by no means an ancient city as things go in Japan. For nearly a thousand years, while the center of the Empire was at Nara and Kyoto far away to the southwest, the site of Tokyo was a remote marsh at the base of a low rolling plain stretching back from the head waters of the bay. It was not until the twelfth century that its old name Yedo appears in the records of Japan; it was not until Ota Dokwan built his fortress there in 1457 that it began to be a center of influence. Its real importance, however, dates from the year 1603 when the mighty feudal lord, Tokugawa Iyeyasu, having laid all other lords low in the dust, became the Shogun, chief minister of the Emperor, and with his 80,000 retainers took up his residence in Yedo. That was in the reign of King James, four years before the founding of Jamestown, Virginia, and seventeen years before the landing of the Pilgrims.

For two centuries and a half, the mighty Tokugawa family ruled Japan from its seat at Yedo while the Emperors, as nominal sovereigns, whiled away their hours with ceremonies amid the exquisite beauties of far-off Kyoto. Established as the center of real power at the time when America was being founded, Tokyo was still the center of power when Commodore Perry, representing the independent United States of America, anchored in the mouth of the Bay of Yedo in 1853. What a momentous period in the history of Western civilization—1603 to 1853! No less momentous for Yedo!

During those long years, the city grew into a huge metropolis. Official reckonings made in 1687 placed the population at 1,370,000 people, not counting the feudal lords (Daimios) and their retainers (Samurai) stationed there. Fire after fire swept over the city; earthquakes shattered it again and again; plagues decimated it; but undaunted in spirit it arose anew after each disaster, stronger and richer than ever. So it was a great city when in 1869 the

Tokugawa shogunate was overthrown, the Emperor restored to real power, the capital of the empire moved from Kyoto to Yedo, and the ancient name changed to Tokyo, or, translated into English, "the Eastern Capital."

This history gives the key to the physical structure and spirit of Tokyo. The home of feudal lords with their armies of retainers and families, the life of the city centered in feudal customs and ceremonials. The shrewd Tokugawas compelled the restive and warlike vassals to live under the frowning walls of their castle a certain part of each year and to leave their families there as hostages for good behavior when at home on their estates. So everything revolved around the needs of the feudal lords. The shops, industries, and mercantile establishments that sprang up catered to the lordly families. The consummate skill of Japanese masters in painting, drawing, weaving, carving, building, and metal working was drawn upon to serve the Daimios and Samurai of Tokyo and their families. Thus Yedo, like Kyoto, became a center of taste as well as political power.

When the Emperor moved his residence to Tokyo all the old characteristics were merely accentuated. New and still more splendid temples and palaces were erected. The army of imperial officers was transferred to the city. It became the center of the great revolution brought about by the introduction of steam, electricity, railways, and industry. It became the center of the new financial institutions associated with the revolution in the government. To the ancient feudal society, proud, restrained, and limited, were added the new and strange foreign elements as ambassadors and ministers from all civilized countries of the world who brought their retinues into Tokyo. Brick and stone buildings after European styles began to appear, sometimes looming up like monstrosities beside the characteristic architecture of old Yedo. There the Japanese gentlemen began to cast off their flowing robes for frock coats, trousers, and high hats; the ladies, more conservative, clinging with greater tenacity to old ways and costumes.

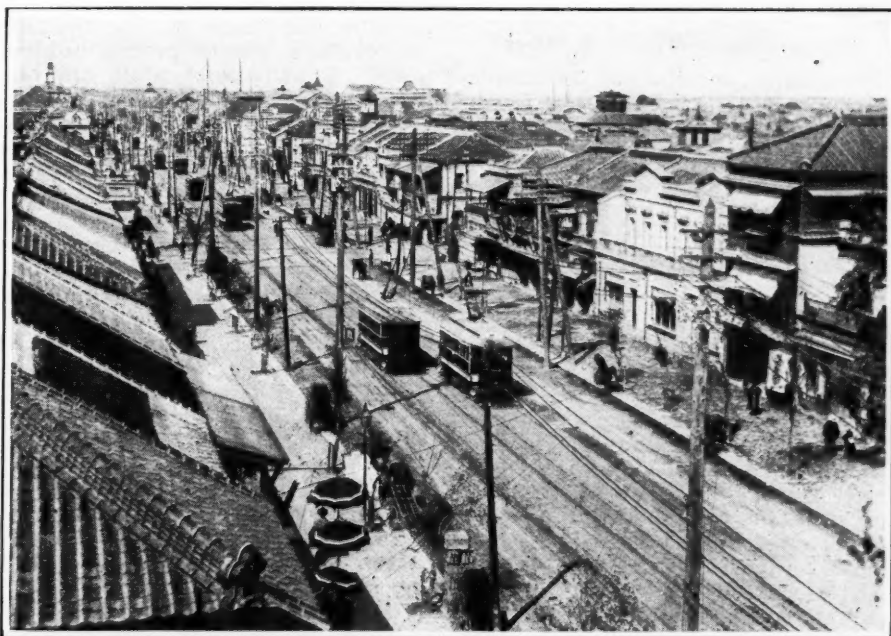
American Influence

For almost fifty years, however, Tokyo, while changing rapidly in appearance, manners, and customs, went on her course in a somewhat conservative manner, as if



© E. M. Newman

A STREET SCENE IN YOKOHAMA, IN ONE OF THE FEW DISTRICTS WHICH RETAINED THEIR ORIENTAL CHARACTER



© Underwood & Underwood

A MAIN STREET IN TOKYO, THE JAPANESE CAPITAL

(The greater part of the city was destroyed by the earthquake of September 1, and the subsequent fire)

regretting the dying days. When the World War broke out in 1914 the economic life of the Empire was quickened beyond all precedents. Huge war fortunes were accumulated. Thousands of Japanese hurried to the West to study, to discover new business methods, and to buy new industrial devices. Factories sprang up as if by magic in the city and in the suburbs. With European influence almost cut off, American influence rose to immense heights, and with it the American passion for skyscrapers. Almost in a flash new steel and concrete buildings five, six, or seven stories high began to shoot up from the wide reaching sea of low wooden buildings. Great departments stores were opened on American models. Brilliantly lighted streets lined with shops displaying wares from the ends of the earth pushed out in every direction from the center of the city. For enterprise, industrial activity, financial stability, Tokyo took her place among the great capitals of the world. To those who do not live by jazz alone it was by far the most interesting capital in the world. London, Paris, Berlin, and Rome are very much the same. At Tokyo the East and the West met in strange confusion; and a social revolution was being wrought under our very eyes.

Predominance of Wooden Buildings

Nevertheless, one who read the statistics of industry, finance, and commerce, or confined his visit to Tokyo to the environs of the Imperial Hotel, was in danger of getting an erroneous idea of the metropolis. In spite of the astounding appearance of the heart of the city, Tokyo was after all not like Osaka, "the Manchester of Japan," newly built on new foundations; it was still the ancient Yedo in the main. It was a collection of villages spread out in irregular fashion over a radius of nearly ten miles. At the center, these villages had grown together by the mere increase in population, and on the periphery they were rapidly coalescing in the same manner. The population did not consist solely of financiers, merchants, capitalists, government officials, and industrial workers. It was composed in the main of small merchants, shopkeepers, and handicraftsmen, dwelling in low one- and two-story buildings, working long hours, and consumed with the routine of the struggle for existence. Unlike their neighbors in China, however, they were all educated and read with avidity the news-

papers and magazines which streamed from the press in endless editions and forms.

Moreover steel and concrete, while steadily winning ground, were not the chief building materials. On January 1, 1921, there were 358,000 buildings in Tokyo and of these only 232 were concrete, 1689 were stone, and 6943 were brick. No less than 326,214 were wooden buildings (174,105 one-story) mostly of light timbers and board erected in Japanese style. Except for their tile roofs they were highly inflammable. Most of them were crowded together in narrow streets, which sometimes dwindled down to four or five feet in width, as in ancient times when the quest for protection huddled them around the castle moat. Congestion was especially intense in the Honjo, Fukagawa, and Shitaya wards where the havoc wrought by the recent disaster was particularly great. There some of the streets did not deserve the name, for they were mere pathways through which the pedestrian had to edge his way as he passed from section to section.

Recent Municipal Progress

Measured by the standards of the best-governed American cities, Tokyo on September 1, 1923, was still in a primitive condition in many respects. But compared with old Yedo immense progress had been made. A water-works plant had been erected and an army of working people was engaged in extending it. By the summer of 1924 the entire city would have been covered and a supply of 45 gallons per capita made available. This is less than half the per capita consumption of New York, but is equal to that of most minor European cities. Wooden, concrete, and asphalt pavements were going down. Already 4.3 miles had been completed, but 613.2 miles six feet or more wide remained unpaved. When the rains fell, Tokyo was a sea of mud. One large section of the city had sewer service and mains were being laid rapidly; but more than three-fourths of the city was without sewers and relied upon ancient methods for removing the night soil which was used for fertilizer by the outlying farmers. The city owned and operated a street-car system which served the great thoroughfares, but was utterly inadequate to handle the traffic of the city. A private corporation furnished gas to most of the city and many of the surrounding suburbs. With electric light and power the people of Tokyo were abundantly



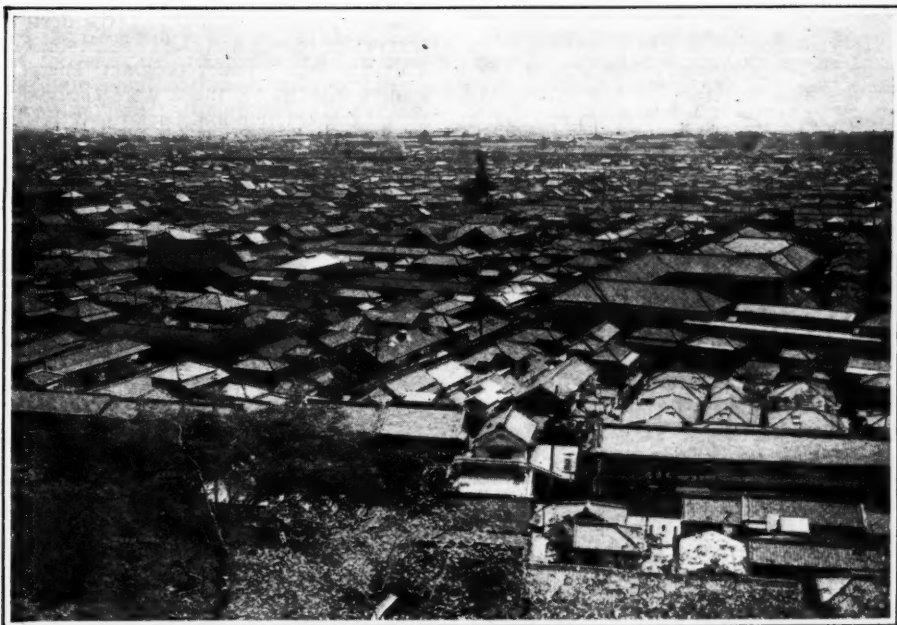
© Ewing Galloway

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF YOKOHAMA, SHOWING VESSELS ANCHORED IN THE HARBOR

supplied by the city government and a private corporation.

As a result of the conservative policy which had been followed in the way of pub-

lic improvements, the city of Tokyo was in a sound financial condition. A careful estimate of land values placed the total at about \$700,000,000. The full value of land and



© E. M. Newman

THE CITY OF TOKYO BEFORE THE EARTHQUAKE WHICH RENDERED TWO-THIRDS OF ITS POPULATION HOMELESS

buildings subject to taxation (that is, excluding lands and buildings used for public and imperial purposes) was placed in the same estimate at about \$1,700,000,000. Against this real-estate value there was a total outstanding debt of \$87,153,566, but more than four-fifths of this debt was for revenue-producing purposes—water works, street railways, and the electric light system. This left a net debt for sewers, street improvements, and other non-revenue producing works of only \$13,140,886—a mere trifle as compared with the debts of American cities. New York City at that moment had a debt for non-revenue producing purposes of \$614,182,614. It is reported that the water-works system is now in operation over a large area, that electric lights are burning, and street cars are in operation over at least a part of the city. Great losses have doubtless been sustained by these municipally owned utilities, but they have not been destroyed by any means. These are the facts developed by an official survey under the auspices of the mayor Viscount Goto completed last June, and are the basis of the statement that the financial condition of Tokyo was sound on September 1, 1923. It is still sound in spite of the disaster.

The Greater Tokyo Planned by Viscount Goto

Indeed the city of Tokyo was busily engaged in a program of modernization when it was shaken down by the earthquake. Immense dams were just completed at Murayama to supply the entire city with an abundance of pure water. Paving and sewer extensions were going forward rapidly. A program of harbor improvements had been laid out, including a dredging of the shallow bay to a depth that would admit large ocean liners to the docks of Tokyo, instead of compelling them to tie up at Yokohama eighteen miles below. The whole problem of transportation, including a subway system, was under serious consideration. Indeed action was almost in sight. Under the new city-planning law which went into effect on January 1, 1920, a city-planning commission had laid out a new network of streets giving wide outlets into the suburbs and cutting open the congested districts. Destruction and construction were being rapidly pushed. At the same time, the magnificent plan for a greater Tokyo, inaugurated under the inspiration of Viscount Goto, was being pushed under his competent successor, Mayor Nagata.

At the present time the jurisdiction of the municipality of Tokyo extends over a relatively small area of urban Tokyo. A survey of the situation by the technicians of the city-planning commission showed that the city embraced within its borders only about one-seventh of the densely populated urban area round Tokyo Bay head. A plan for extending the boundaries to cover the area of greater Tokyo had been prepared and laid before the Imperial Government. It was in the Home Office when the crash came.

This project included a consolidation of all the outlying towns and villages within a radius of approximately ten miles under one municipal government, the extension of the city plan to cover the entire district, and the establishment of one powerful and somewhat democratic scheme of city government. In addition to enlarging the physical boundaries of the city and making better provision of public services, the Goto plan embraced a large program of social work: the construction of municipal lodging houses and dwellings for working people (some of which were finished just in time to be thrown down), new hospitals, a new waste-disposal system, employment exchanges, playgrounds, day nurseries, orphanages, municipal markets, the destruction of slum areas, and child health stations. This was not a paper program; energetic leaders with ample funds were engaged in actual construction and operation. Within a decade or more Tokyo would have been transformed.

Increase in the Municipal Electorate

In keeping with material improvements there was a progressive development of municipal democracy which revealed a startling change in the outlook of Japanese statesmen. When Tokyo was given autonomous government in 1880, the Prussian model was adopted under the influence of a Prussian adviser. In other words, the city council was elected under the three-class system. The highest taxpayers, who paid one-third of the taxes, formed the first class; those who paid a second third formed the second class; and all the remaining taxpayers formed the third class. Each class elected one-third of the city councillors, and the councillors in turn elected a small administrative board, like the German municipal magistracy, and the mayor. At the last election under this system in 1920

there were only 51,000 eligible voters legally entitled to vote for city councillors, in a city of more than two million people.

Many and vigorous were the protests made against this exclusive system, and at length, in 1922, the Imperial Parliament was induced to take a step which alarmed the defenders of class government. The radicals demanded universal suffrage, including the women, but they did not have their way. Parliament would only accept a compromise. It abolished the three-class system and substituted a two-class system. Every male person who for two years has paid a direct municipal tax, no matter how small, even a license tax for a bicycle or rickshaw, can vote. The voters are divided into two classes. The total amount of taxes paid by the direct taxpayers is divided by the number of taxpayers and an "average tax" is thus established. All those who pay the average amount or more are put into the first class and elect one-half of the municipal councillors. The remainder, who pay less than the average, fall into the second class and elect half the councillors.

The effect of this act was a threefold increase in the municipal electorate at the election held in July, 1922. Whereas there were only 51,000 eligible voters under the old system, there are now 28,223 in the first class and 129,744 in the second class, making an electorate of 157,967. Of this number, approximately three-fourths, or 118,521 voters, actually participated in the election. In 1905, when the number of legal voters was only 43,100, only 18.8 per cent. went to the polls and voted. In 1922 the active voters numbered 75 per cent. of the eligibles—a figure which compares well with American performances.

Still the suffrage in Tokyo is narrowly limited. The new law is heartily condemned by the liberals. It is a compound of distrust and uncertainty. It exhibits no generous confidence in democracy and at the same time has none of the safeguards associated with the rational protection of property. The person who pays a trivial direct bicycle tax can vote; a school teacher who owns no bicycle and whose income is below the exemption limit cannot vote. The licensed rickshaw man who hauls a marchioness about is a qualified elector; the marchioness is without a voice in the city government. It is not probable, therefore, that this illogical and restrictive system will long stand, but with all its limitations it marks an

advance over the old Prussian model. It will go down in time before the strong universal suffrage movement. With the press almost unanimous in its strident demand for manhood suffrage, it is not probable that the momentous step can be long delayed.

"Home Rule" for Tokyo

Along with the demand for more democracy in municipal government in Tokyo has gone a demand for more local autonomy. The government of Tokyo is a creature of the Imperial Government. It has none of those rights which some American lawyers wrongly call "the inherent rights of self-government." Like the other premier cities it is governed under a general imperial law. The city is merely a subdivision of the prefecture and all its important acts must be approved by the prefect who is appointed by the Imperial Government, as well as by the appropriate Imperial minister under whose authority the act comes. Police control is in the hands of a commissioner of police appointed by the Imperial Government and responsible to it. The authority of the commissioner is very wide; it covers police protection, fire administration, and the enforcement of the building code. As would be expected, there is a duplication of functions and much waste in this system.

An essential part of Viscount Goto's program, therefore, dealt with the vexatious questions which Americans know as "home rule." It called for the ousting of the prefect altogether from the entire area of Greater Tokyo, and the transference of many functions from the police commissioner to the city authorities. This, of course, meant a radical departure from traditions and it was countered by an alternative program from the Home Office. Both programs were subjects of lively discussion; action had become imperative when the terrible storm broke over Tokyo. It may be that out of the ashes of the devastated capital there may arise an enlarged and autonomous municipality. Still the processes of reconstruction, involving, as they must, extensive Imperial aid, may delay the achievement of the long-desired home rule. It is interesting to note that Viscount Goto, the former mayor, is now head of the Home Office and has almost plenary power over the city.

From this imperfect and hasty sketch it is apparent that Tokyo even in ruins is no longer the primitive community which it

was fifty years ago in matters of municipal enterprise. It is a great center of wealth, much of which must still be intact. It had its millions of poor and its slum areas, just as all great cities in the world, old and new. Whether its slums are worse than those of other cities is a matter of opinion, not of statistical demonstration. It so happens that the areas devastated by the recent holocaust embrace practically all the poverty-stricken districts. But rich or poor, the people of Tokyo have energy and resources. They are accustomed to simple habits of life and they can endure hardships with a firm resolve. Among them are hundreds of competent engineers, doctors, and administrators. They have habits and practices of self-government, which will steady them in this crisis. The city and the Imperial Government can command in ordinary times a wealth of devoted service from the bureaucracy which, with all its faults, knows how to do things in the Japanese fashion.

A Self-Reliant Population

Outside the range of the wasted region are fifty million people, industrious, thrifty, and inured to sacrifice and hardships. The fertile lands of the Southwest, the most productive in Japan, were not disturbed. The manufacturing and commercial centers of Kobe and Osaka, then suffering from the business depression, can spring into full activity, as in war time, and supply the whole empire with the products of looms, forges, and kilns. Ten other cities of approximately 100,000 inhabitants or more, with their varied industries, are ready to serve. The wide-reaching forest reserves, the pride of Japan and a noble tribute to her administrative genius and far-sighted statesmanship, await the coming of the woodmen and sawyers. The beans of Manchuria and the varied food supplies of Formosa will supply the hungry masses of ruined cities while they restore their economic activities. Japan is not rich according to American standards, but she has brains, resources, industry, fortitude, and capacity for infinite pains and sacrifice. They have not failed her in the course of two thousand years; they will not fail her now.

Viscount Goto to Direct Reconstruction

A crowning proof of Japanese resourcefulness is the fact that in this crisis the ablest and most experienced civil administrator in the whole empire was made Minister of

Home Affairs in charge of reconstruction, namely, Viscount Shimpei Goto. A physician, not a soldier, he is fitted by training for the task. No one in Japan has had administrative experience equal to his. As head of a hospital, civil governor of Formosa, president of the South Manchurian Railway, Minister of Communications, Minister of Railways, and Mayor of Tokyo, he acquired a fund of practical knowledge which marks him out as the man of the hour for the office entrusted to him. Though sixty-six years old he is still young in body and spirit; only last spring his mother died at the ripe old age of ninety-nine years. Unlike many of his countrymen, he can make a swift decision and stick to it to the bitter end. He does not stand on formalities, but goes direct to the heart of matters.

American Relief

Such in rough and summary form is the background for gauging America's responsibilities in this hour, for formulating our program of action with respect to reconstruction in Japan. First of all, of course, is immediate relief for the suffering. The American people, with their usual zeal for good work in time of stress, have responded generously to the call of the Red Cross for help. They have been true to their noblest traditions. With correct insight also, the Red Cross has transferred large funds directly to Japan and works through the highly efficient Japanese Red Cross, instead of sending an army of American workers to the spot. Japanese habits of life, food, clothing, and ways of doing things are so different from those of the Americans that waste and friction would inevitably arise from an attempt to administer relief directly. The country is to be congratulated on the promptness and wisdom shown by the leaders of the American Red Cross.

Japan's Public-Health Resources

Along with immediate relief and during the period of reconstruction there will be a great strain on the public-health resources of Japan. In surgery and medicine, of course, the Japanese have demonstrated their talents to all the world. Before the disaster, Tokyo had an extensive, but not adequate, hospital service, and new hospitals, including the addition to St. Luke's, were in the course of construction. Nevertheless it must be said that public-health work as distinguished from private practice

of medicine and surgery was lagging behind the general advance of Japan. The death rate for 1920 was 21.61 per thousand, as against 12.39 for New York the previous year. In Honjo, the worst of the ruined wards, the death rate was 26.55 per thousand. Moreover, the hospital services, though in many respects adapted to the simple habits of the Japanese, were deficient in technique and equipment as measured by the very highest western standards. From time to time the city was visited by a dreadful cholera scourge, the last being in October, 1922, and only the most rigorous watchfulness on the part of the authorities prevented a terrible epidemic.

Now, it seems, the Imperial Medical School, the Imperial Hospital, the excellent Red Cross Hospital, and the City Infirmary along with St. Luke's and many other public and private institutions, are in ruins. The public-health service is deranged at the very time when epidemics are most imminent and perilous. This is a state of affairs which cannot be remedied for years. Here is an opportunity for America to render Japan a service beyond price by aiding in the re-establishment of hospital and public-health services and the training of doctors and nurses. It goes without saying that St. Luke's, under the forceful and intelligent leadership of Dr. R. B. Teusler, must be restored and made more effective than ever. On the subject of additional assistance, only men and women trained in public-health work and familiar with Japanese problems can speak with authority.

Japan as a Borrower

In the third place, Japan and the ruined cities must of necessity float large reconstruction loans and they will doubtless come to the American money market. The main burden of reconstruction will fall on the Japanese. They will want to bear it, for they are, as Roosevelt said, a proud and sensitive people, not objects of charity, or poor relations. They will borrow naturally on a business basis, but there are many factors in business. To speak frankly, two reasons for the low state of Japanese securities in the American market have been the fear of war between the two countries and a lack of knowledge of Japan among American investors. The Washington Conference and this recent disaster have removed the fear of imminent war from even the wildest imaginations. With war clouds

removed and the soundness of Japanese credit established, Japanese reconstruction bonds should meet a favorable reception in the American money market. Japan is no lingering charity patient. She wants no continuing doles. She wants a square deal in the money market and ought to get it.

Libraries Must Be Restocked

In the fourth place, the great libraries in Tokyo have been destroyed. Before the calamity fell upon the city, those libraries were stocked with American books. Every college student in Japan reads English, and unlike American students he does not forget his foreign tongue when he graduates. On the contrary, English is the key which unlocks the western world and he keeps it bright by the continuous study of works in English. English has completely outstripped French and German as the foreign tongue of educated Japanese. The Osaka *Mainichi* publishes an English edition daily for foreigners and more especially for Japanese readers. A new English daily was launched in Tokyo in the summer by the *Nichi Nichi*. The foreign papers, like the *Japan Advertiser*, circulate among the Japanese in large numbers. Just as the English tongue inevitably binds us closer to England, so the same tongue, as the first foreign language of the Japanese, binds them to us. The *furor Americanus* has struck Japan. After our splendid help in this hour of trial it will sweep the country. So we should not fail to aid Japan in restocking the libraries of the devastated region with American books, not forgetting technical works so useful in engineering and public-health projects.

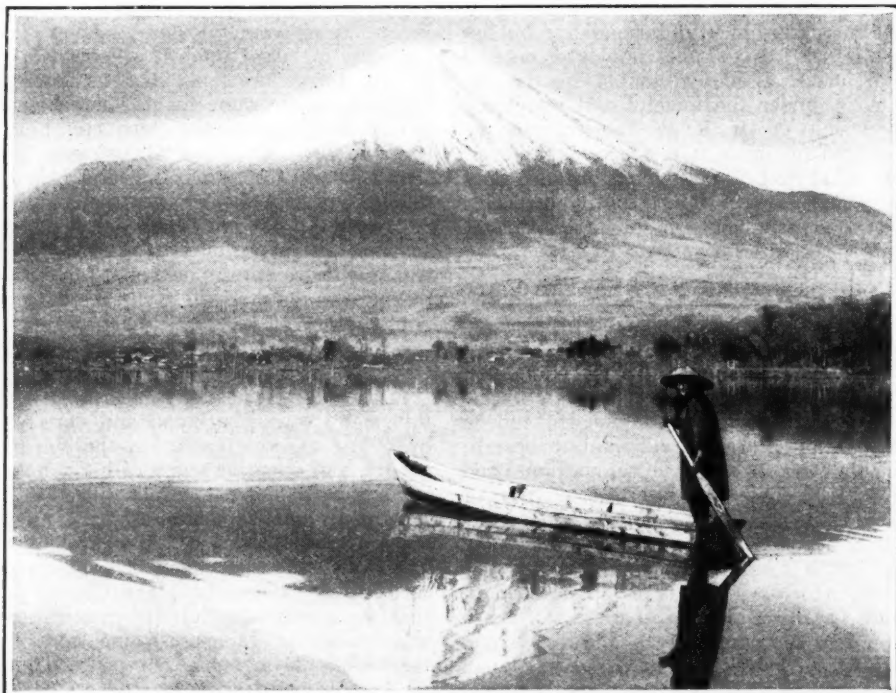
Interpretation of Japan to America

In the fifth place, taking a long view of things, we can help Japan and ourselves by giving more attention to the sincere, careful, and scientific study of her culture, her economic life, her peculiar position in the Orient, and the special problems growing out of her rights and responsibilities. There has been too much propaganda in the United States about the Orient; for that we should substitute information and understanding. Japanese come here by the thousands to study our political and economic institutions. Our students should begin to go to the Orient now as they have long been going to Europe. We should be making the same kind of open and detached

examination of Japanese civilization that we have been making of European civilization. We should have chairs in Japanese language, literature, and art in our universities. We should have more scholars mastering the Japanese tongue in order to bring things Japanese to our understanding in our own way. The Association for International Conciliation might well consider making available to us in English a great anthology of the literature now closed by the mysterious characters that baffle the uninitiated.

The Washington Conference certainly relaxed the tension in the Pacific. The Japanese in the time of their tragedy will learn something about a phase of American character which is not revealed in the hot manifestoes of journalists and politicians on both sides. The rôle of America in the Far East should be reëxamined in the light of the new economic situation in the Orient. Before this calamity fell upon her, Japan showed that she was ready to meet us half way and more. In the long days of reconstruction she will be drawn closer to

us by commercial and financial ties. With the possibilities of war removed into the distant future, the two nations should be able to settle by friendly discussion all the outstanding questions that perplex them and usher in a new era of coöperation. I do not wish to make here any appeal to sentiment, even though it be true that great and noble effort flows from sentiment, but merely to ask that Americans help Japan as well as themselves by applying to the study of her social and economic life the spirit of free and objective inquiry which is the strength of all-conquering natural science. Japan needs no apologists or propagandists in America, but she will be grateful for all honest attempts at interpretation. Above all let us have facts, facts, and still more facts, verified and tested, facts that will help reveal to us the true character and historic mission of Dai Nippon. Those who bring tidings in this form serve both nations; they lay the only firm foundation for sound judgment and wise action.



© E. M. Newman

FUJIYAMA, JAPAN'S CELEBRATED MOUNTAIN, SIXTY MILES WEST OF TOKYO

(This view is from one of the lakes at Shoji, about eighteen miles from Tokyo. Fujiyama is over 12,000 feet high. It is a volcano, with a crater 500 feet deep and about two and one-half miles in circumference.)

ITALY, GREECE, AND CORFU

THE INCIDENT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. ITALIAN AMBITIONS

THE month which has just passed, marking the ninth anniversary of the Battle of the Marne, has been dominated by a single episode. Italy, by a sudden descent upon the shores of the Greek island of Corfu and by an incidental bombardment of the defenseless city of Corfu, gave due and adequate warning to the whole world—and primarily to the Mediterranean powers—that the question of the equilibrium in the Inland Sea was henceforth to take its place among the historic problems of contemporary Europe.

To appreciate the real meaning of the Italian gesture it is essential to cast aside any details and any interpretation based upon the local circumstances. The murder of the Italian commissioners on the Greco-Albanian frontier, which they were engaged in marking, was a crime for which no adequate defense can be found. But when Italy acted there was not the smallest evidence that the Greek Government had been in any degree cognizant of the assassination in advance, or in any way concerned with it.

Thus the Italian action was based not upon any warrant in fact, as fact was then known. It was, rather, precisely the sort of policy adopted by Austria toward Serbia in 1914, following the murder of the Archduke in Serajevo: that is to say, it was the sudden and violent employment of a fortuitous circumstance to advance a great national policy.

It was the Austrian purpose in 1914 so to deal with Serbia that it would no longer constitute an obstacle to Austrian advance toward Salonica and Austrian hegemony in the Balkan peninsula. The Italian action was in the same measure designed to remove the Greek obstacle to Italian ambitions both in the Adriatic and in the Aegean and, in the larger sense, in the Mediterranean itself. It was the first clear, authentic expression of

the dominating purpose in the minds of the makers and masters of the New Italy, which emerged from the World War with her European frontiers complete and her unity at length accomplished. It was a declaration of purpose made in the form of an astonishing display of force.

To understand this purpose it is necessary, first of all, to dismiss the notion that Mussolini acted with intemperate violence and that the action represents a personal rather than a national emotion. On the contrary, every shred of evidence which comes from Italy indicates that Mussolini's course not only had the approval of his fellow countrymen, but in their minds it expressed not mere anger over an unmistakable outrage, but the cool and deliberate purpose of Italy to assert her rights and her aspirations and to compel recognition of them by a reluctant Europe.

What, then, does Italy desire? Above all, she desires to be recognized as the great power she now feels herself to be. This is a consuming passion in the Italian heart. For half a century, ever since she at last realized unity through the occupation of Rome, Italy has felt herself the poor relation among the Great Powers. She has felt herself treated as an inferior, compelled to sit idly by while the aspirations she cherished have been thwarted and the lands she coveted have been divided among the more prosperous of her neighbors.

Thus, in 1881, France with the consent of Great Britain and Germany seized Tunis, closing to Italy the nearest African shore, which had anciently been the foundation of Rome's great African estate, while thirty years later French acquisition of Morocco rounded out the great African colonial establishment of the Republic.

Of all the vast and promising regions of North Africa, Italy was forced to content herself with the barren stretch of Tripolitan shores. Meanwhile France occupied and

developed the rich regions between the Muluya and the Syrtes, and Britain maintained in some form control in Egypt and Suez and from Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus dominated the Mediterranean. Thus, while she was struggling to consolidate what she had won with so much sacrifice and labor, Italy beheld her natural African fields of expansion blocked by France and by Britain and saw the very seas which surrounded her shores dominated by British fleets.

The World War seemed to Italy the opportunity to realize at last her most cherished aspirations. There was left to her the open doorway of fortune both in the Adriatic and in the *Ægean*. To take from the falling Hapsburg empire the eastern shores of the Adriatic and from the apparently doomed Turk the western coast of Asia Minor, to return on the avenues of empire of Rome and on the pathways of commercial greatness of Venice—this was the hope and the expectation of the Italy which entered the World War in 1915.

Once more, however, Italy was disappointed. The end of the war saw Turkey and Austria crushed, to be sure. But it also disclosed, rising on the Adriatic, a new Slav state backed by the allies of Italy; and in the *Ægean* there came the renaissance of Greece, whose claims to the *Ægean* island and even to the Anatolian mainland were supported by Britain and France.

In the Paris Conference, while France and Great Britain realized their aspirations in Asia and in Africa, President Wilson, supported by Clemenceau and Lloyd George, blocked Italian hopes in Fiume and Dalmatia; and in the end Orlando quit Paris in a rage, and with his departure Italy ceased to be even a figure in the final discussions.

After Paris, when the United States had retired, Venizelos, inspired by Lloyd George, sent Greek troops to Smyrna and thus brought to nothing the agreements made by Italy with her allies and the designs cherished by all Italians for their country's future greatness. Moreover, Italy was presently forced to evacuate Albania, where she had hoped to establish a protectorate, and to relinquish her foothold in Asia Minor at Adalia. In a word, Italy was obliged to come empty-handed from the conflict, so far as her dreams of expansion and power were concerned.

Mussolini and Fascism were the explosion of Italian anger over foreign failure pre-

cisely as much as over domestic chaos. Fascism was just as certainly the expression of an emotion provoked by thwarted ambitions abroad as by shaken stability at home. The double purpose of the Fascisti outbreak was to restore Italian fortunes within the kingdom and without. It was always inevitable, as it was logical, that once his home front was consolidated, Mussolini would strike for Italian interests abroad. All that was needed was opportunity; and that opportunity, in full measure, was furnished when the Italian commissioners were shamefully murdered in northern Epirus.

One other circumstance, of course, was vital. Greece was in a real sense the ward of Great Britain; and Yugoslavia, Italy's rival across the Adriatic, was bound to France by many ties, knotted through the Little Entente. Italy therefore could only act with safety if and when France and Great Britain were for some reason unable to act together, or separately, to throw their strength against the Italian policy.

But precisely this opportunity was furnished when the Ruhr controversy reached its present stage and London and Paris were separated by conflicting policies and purposes—and, even more significant, were bidding against each other for Italian support for their clashing German views. Thus, when Italy went to Corfu, every conceivable circumstance was favorable; it was a moment which seemed made for Mussolini.

II. THE CONSEQUENCES

Looking backward a few years, it will be recalled that precisely the same opportunity came to Germany in 1905, when the Kaiser went to Tangier. Russia, the ally of France, was helpless as a consequence of defeat in the Russo-Japanese War, which was still in progress. France was in no position or mood to fight Germany single-handed, and Britain could not bring to France any material strength adequate to redress the balance. Thus, following the Kaiser's descent upon Tangier, France was compelled to bow to German will, Delcassé went, and French hopes in Morocco were postponed for some years.

But the significance of the Kaiser's move, like that of Mussolini, was what filled Europe. It was recognized on all sides as the declaration of German purpose to participate in the partition of Morocco; it was the proclamation to the world of German

policy which ran squarely counter to French and to British. And Europe realized at once that storms were ahead. These storms were to culminate in the Agadir crisis six years later, and they were to be contributory causes to the World War, which came a decade after the Tangier landing.

It is essential not to blink the fact that the Italian move is of the same sort. Italy has announced to the world that she means to dominate the Near East, to establish a new equilibrium in the Mediterranean; and this constitutes a challenge alike to Great Britain and to France, the two great Mediterranean powers. Italy also serves notice upon Europe that she is henceforth to be a potent factor in the Balkans, which again constitutes a challenge to the Little Entente and indirectly to France.

It is perfectly idle to imagine that the purpose Italy has declared can lead anywhere but to war or else to the supreme humiliation of the whole Italian people, who are in no mood for a new disappointment. The present Greek affair can be settled without too much difficulty, if Italy consents—after due delay and proper salving of her honor—to evacuate the Greek territory which she has seized. One must realize, however, that such evacuation would mean retiring from exactly those points which Italy means ultimately to possess, since they constitute the key to the Adriatic and largely neutralize the British base at Malta. But the underlying purpose of Italy to play a new part and occupy a new position in the Balkans and in the Near East generally cannot be realized save after war with the Balkan states, nor can Italian supremacy in the Mediterranean be achieved save at the expense of France and Great Britain.

When Germany undertook to force a readjustment of the Moroccan agreement between Great Britain and France and to establish her claim to a portion of the Shereefian Empire, it was always inevitable that she would have to fight France and Great Britain or retire with disastrous consequences to her prestige. After risking war on two occasions she finally did retire, but the Agadir humiliation led inevitably to that 1914 situation where another retreat was impossible.

In the same fashion, when Austria adopted toward Serbia the policy of hostility which was expressed in 1908 in the annexation of Bosnia and in 1912 by the veto of

Serb hopes for an outlet on the Adriatic, it was certain that war would come some day, and, if Russia backed Serbia, that the war would be general. That is, of course, what did happen in 1914, when Austria, taking advantage of favorable circumstances, set out to realize her purpose and dispose of Serbia and humiliate Russia at one blow.

Of course, if France and Great Britain were united now, or could by any conceivable adjustment of Ruhr disputes be brought together, then with the additional support of the Little Entente they could deliver an ultimatum to Italy which would bring about the evacuation of Corfu without delay and, perhaps, the adjournment to a distant date of any further Italian operation.

But can Great Britain and France get together? The whole European situation is here. Neither dares to act without the other for the simple reason that if, for example, the British should take a high tone with the Italians and even concentrate their fleet in the Mediterranean, then Italy would instantly turn all her support to France in the Reparations Commission and in German affairs generally.

One possible consequence of British action in support of Greece, then, isolated action, would be that France and Italy should strike a bargain on all matters, Mediterranean and German alike. This would leave the British helpless with respect to the Continent, even if superior British sea-power compelled Italian submission in the immediate controversy.

Nor could France afford to risk earning the permanent hostility of Italy by separate action on behalf of Greece, even though the French situation is rendered highly difficult by the insistence of the Little Entente that France support Greece and oppose Italy. Of course, if there were no Ruhr and no Germany, this would be the natural course of the French, for they have no desire to see Italy, their natural rival in the Mediterranean, become still more powerful. But France has always to think of some later German invasion, and to remember that she won the Marne just nine years ago because she was able to withdraw all her army corps from the Italian frontier and to recall all her African divisions.

Underneath all else, too, is the suspicion and distrust which the Ruhr has created on both sides of the Channel. Thus the sum

and substance of the matter is that the Ruhr has paralyzed both France and Great Britain, and neither is in a position lightly to risk the loss of the Italian vote and support in the controversy which is far from settled. Moreover, if, as seems assured now, France wins the Ruhr, and if, in addition, she is able to strike hands with the Italians as a result of British action over Corfu, the British position on the Continent would be worse than at any moment since the fall of Napoleon.

Yet the memories of the recent Turkish Affair and of Lausanne must be present in both British and French minds. It was the break between France and Britain that enabled Turkey to defy Europe, expel the Greeks from Asia Minor, and return as a conqueror to Constantinople and Adrianople, dictating terms to both the British and the French. So far the situation is on all fours with that just a year ago, with Italy occupying the Turkish position.

Sooner or later both Britain and France will suffer from any Italian success now, for Italian aspiration, as I have said, does not stop short of making the Mediterranean an Italian sea; and Italian imperialism looks alike to the acquisition of Malta and of Corsica, to the supremacy of Italy in Egypt and in Tunis. If the Italian descent upon Corfu is a more immediate challenge to Britain than to France, because Britain is the dominant power in the Mediterranean and Greece is in a measure under British protection (particularly as Corfu was a gift of Britain to Greece and is still covered by a British guarantee of neutrality), no Frenchman can mistake that his country, quite as much as Britain, lies in the pathway of Italian hopes.

In the last analysis, the Corfu episode is one more illuminating illustration of the present chaos of Europe. To be sure, after the Turkish performance no evidence was actually required. But, as it stands, it reveals once more the supreme tragedy for the world of the Anglo-French break.

Moreover, and this is the point which I desire to emphasize again to my readers, it is essential to perceive that we are once more in the presence of the revelation of one of those national policies which in all human history have led ineluctably to war. Italy has embarked upon a policy which, however it may impress the rest of the world, seems to her right and just. She is undertaking to establish herself in what she

conceives to be her rightful place in the sun; but, unhappily, since others occupy that position and will only evacuate if driven, the eventual consequences are to be foreseen.

At the precise time he sent a fleet to Corfu, Mussolini despatched an ultimatum to Belgrade and a guard to Tangier—actions which have the same relation to the general Italian scheme of things. The ultimatum to Belgrade carried with it the proof of Italy's purpose to dominate Fiume and control the Adriatic, while the troops sent to Tangier advertised the Italian purpose to be considered in the settlement of the Tangier dispute between France, Britain, and Spain.

Henceforth in all European situations and disputes we have to reckon with the newly disclosed Italian policy. Italy seeks the supremacy of the Near East. She has thrown herself against Greek rights and Southern Slav aspirations; she has indirectly challenged France and Great Britain. In the present paralysis of Europe—due to the elimination of Russia, Germany, and Austria and to the deadlock between France and Great Britain—Italy feels herself strong enough to play a major rôle, and she means to play it.

If the possession of Corfu and the Greek islands of the *Ægean* is a violation of the doctrine of self-determination and a sin against the principle of national unity, the Italians ask whether it constitutes a greater offense than the British possession of Gibraltar against the will of Spain, of Malta against the will of the Italians, of Cyprus in direct conflict with the wish of its Greek inhabitants. France and Britain, which opposed Italian ambitions in the Adriatic and the *Ægean*, have not hesitated to take for themselves Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine; and no one will hold that they maintain them with the consent of the inhabitants. To the foreign critics of Italian action Italy responds: "I measure you not by your pretensions but by your acts. Have I done more than you have done and are doing, and is your present criticism more than a hypocritical endeavor to employ moral doctrine in my case which you never apply in your own?"

In sum, the Italian action and the Italian explanation of that action—that is, the explanation disclosed in the comment of the press and of public men—are the clearest and most uncompromising restatement of the doctrine of force and the right of the

strong nation to realize its national ambitions that we have had since the close of the World War. It undertakes to assert and maintain the view that all the various projects and pretenses of idealism at Paris and since Paris—and, for that matter, before Paris—were insincere or impossible. It defends its course, not by any effort to torture Wilsonian gospel into warrant for Italian action, but by frank citation of the things actually done by those countries which now censure Italian deeds.

Thus, the Italian press reasons that if the United States criticizes Italian operations at Corfu, it none the less sent its fleet and forces to bombard Vera Cruz, and it still occupies Haiti. It reasons that if the British public protests over the bombardment of Corfu, the British fleets did not hesitate to bombard Alexandria and Copenhagen; that if there is French denunciation France is still in the Ruhr and has found Italian censure of French occupation of Tunis neither important nor appealing. And if Italy rejects the competence of the League of Nations, has not the United States declined to join that organization and do not the French now refuse to let it act in the matter of the Ruhr? Certainly Italy is grieved at world disapproval, but there is nothing to suggest that she feels such disapprobation deserved or finds in it constraint.

III. WAR OR PEACE

There remains the all-important question: Does the Italian action in seizing Corfu mean war or peace in the immediate future? The question is not wholly susceptible of answer until the later Italian purpose is disclosed. Permanent occupation of Corfu would mean war, for even Greece, stricken by the recent Turkish disaster and overwhelmed by the burden of refugees, could not permanently submit to the seizure of a portion of her territory. Furthermore, beyond much doubt Yugoslavia, with or without the assistance of her partners of the Little Entente, would take up arms rather than permit Italy to stay in Corfu and thus consolidate her hold upon the Adriatic.

War between Italy and Yugoslavia would be long and would constitute a terrific strain upon the slender financial resources of Italy. Yet sooner or later such a war is inescapable unless Italy abandons her Adriatic policy

and surrenders Fiume to the Slavs, or at the least permits them to make use of Fiume by restoring to it a real status of an independent city.

Jugoslavia might well decide to risk the conflict now, because the new state is shaken by internal dissensions and by the separatist tendencies of the Croats and certain Montenegrin elements, which have the active support of Italy. But if Yugoslavia does decide upon war, it is almost inevitable that Hungary will attack her in the rear, just as Bulgaria is bound to take advantage of both Slav and Greek misfortune to press her claims to Macedonia and western Thrace.

Hungarian or Bulgarian action, however, would automatically bring in both Czechoslovakia and Rumania, under the terms of their treaties, which are the basis of the Little Entente. Therefore it is patent that the present episode threatens to set a torch to the whole Balkan region again.

Actually the key to the situation would appear to be in Belgrade, although Yugoslav decisions will be profoundly affected by advice coming from Prague and Bucharest. Conceivably, if Rumania were involved in a new war with Hungary, Russia might seek to recover Bessarabia. But this would automatically bring in Poland under the terms of the Polo-Rumanian treaty of alliance.

Moreover, it must be clear how all of these various agreements tend to involve the French, who are in turn in alliance with the Poles and have special arrangements with every one of the Little Entente states. Thus, as the Corfu incident has developed, France has been under increasing pressure from Prague, Bucharest, and Belgrade to take a stand in support of Greece. France, too, cannot afford to see the British, by a firm and outspoken stand in favor of the Greeks, replace her in the regard of the Little Entente.

In case of war between Yugoslavia and Italy, also, the French would be concerned because the Yugoslav army has been trained and equipped by France. On the other hand, there must always be for France the danger of an Italian attack in the southeast coinciding with a German attack in the east. It is this thing which stays French hands and at least for a time restrained French action in response to Little Entente demands. Even the obvious need of Italian support in the Ruhr controversy is less important

than the naked question of security, which dominates all French policy whether in the Ruhr or in the Mediterranean.

At all events, as long as the Italian troops stay in Corfu we face an immediate and grave peril of war, not between Greece and Italy but between Italy and Yugoslavia. And, as in 1914 no man could measure in advance the complications of the Austro-Serbian dispute, so to-day no one can tell how far the Yugoslav crisis, caused by the Corfu affair, may extend or how many countries it may involve.

The policy of Mazzini, which was founded upon the principle of friendly relations between Italy and the Adriatic peoples will, in my judgment, in the long run prove wiser than that of Mussolini, which is based upon the same principle as that of Austria in the last century, both with respect of the Latins and the Slavs. But to-day Italy follows Mussolini rather than Mazzini, and forgets her own agonies of the last century which were imposed by Austrian application of the doctrines now proclaimed by Mussolini.

Italian treatment of the Greeks has been on all fours with Austrian treatment of the Serbs. It was Italian intervention which prevented the union of northern Epirus with Greece and thus necessitated the laying down of the hateful frontier, the task at which the Italian commission was at work when the murder took place. As Austria annexed Bosnia, Italy as recently annexed Rhodes and the Dodecanesus, islands in which the Greek rights are as indubitable as are Italian rights in Trieste or the Trentine.

As Austria was moved from injustice to violence toward Serbia, Italy has been forced along the same pathway with Greece. She has now chosen a deed of violence, which at worst is no more than an insane protest prompted by intolerable wrongs, to serve as a warrant for dealing a heavy blow to a nation she has already wronged indensively.

Yet, whatever the feelings stirred by the Italian action—and there is no mistaking the unanimity of American opinion—it is above all essential to see it for what it is and for what it means. The world is again put on its notice of the purposes of a great nation setting out deliberately on the pathway of empire. In this sense it must be counted with the Tangier episode, which remained for ten years the significant landmark in European history and was the first

step in the long series which closed with the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia, to be followed by the World War.

IV. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

I have deliberately postponed discussing the League of Nations angle of the Corfu affair to the last, because it seemed essential to establish in the readers' minds the political circumstances first. In appealing instantly to the League of Nations, having gone as far as it was conceivable that a nation could go to meet the terms of the Italian ultimatum, Greece not only took the logical course but she raised the question of the real value of the League itself. Sir Edward Grey has said that had the League existed in July, 1914, the World War could have been prevented. Now, at last, it was felt that the ultimate value of the League could be tested.

Fortunately for the League of Nations, for the world, and for Great Britain, British interests at Geneva in this crisis were in the hands of Lord Robert Cecil, technically representing South Africa but, as a member of the British cabinet, speaking for Britain and for the whole Empire. Confronted immediately by the Italian declaration that the League was not competent to deal with the question, and that Italy would not consent to submit it, together with the implied threat of Italian withdrawal from the League if it insisted, Lord Robert took a course of high courage and insisted that the League accept the Italian challenge.

Such a course carried with it obvious disadvantages. It was certain that Italy would resent such a course on the part of a Briton. It was probable that Italian resentment might lead to the bestowal upon France of Italian support in the Ruhr controversy, since France showed at once an extreme desire to placate and even to satisfy Italy. And it was equally plain that if Italy continued to resist, the League of Nations could hardly employ force and might end in a revelation of hopeless impotence.

But Lord Robert believed in the League. He had recently made a journey through the United States explaining its virtues. He felt that it was on trial for its life, and that the emergency was precisely of the sort which called forth the full measure of ability of one of the strangest but by no means one of the least important of the statesmen of

Britain. Moreover, as not infrequently happens, the course of courage proved in the last analysis the path of wise policy. While M. Hanotaux hesitated to commit France, Lord Robert suddenly took from France the support and sympathy of most of the smaller states of Europe who felt the Italian action called their own safety into question.

Belgium, the Little Entente, even Poland—states bound to France by alliance and all of them firm supporters of French policy with respect of Germany—came promptly to the side of Lord Robert in the present crisis. Where Baldwin had tried and failed utterly to rally Europe to the British thesis in the Ruhr, Lord Robert instantly identified Britain with the most vital interest of all the smaller states, namely the maintenance of the League as the court of last resort when a small state is assailed in its very existence by a large one. Moreover, while the states belonging to the French constellation rallied to the British policy, with even greater enthusiasm came the Scandinavian states, Holland, and even South American republics.

In the opening debate Lord Robert, with utmost skill, reminded his hearers that the question at issue was not merely the existence of the League, but also the defense of the Treaty of Versailles and the pendant agreements, in all of which the Covenant of the League of Nations was written. If the Covenant were now to be repudiated, the treaties would fall with them and there would be an end of the supreme law of Europe, the foundation of independence of many European countries and of the territorial integrity of many more. And this has been the single thesis of Poincaré in the whole Ruhr controversy.

The intervention of Lord Robert unmistakably turned the tide in Geneva. Lacking a leader, the League might have hesitated; and never could hesitation have proven more fatal. But after Lord Robert had taken the reins into his firm and skilful hands, Salandra (representing Italy) was condemned to argue before a court which had already made up its mind. He might continue to argue that the League had no competence; he might continue to insist that not only should the matter be referred to the Council of Ambassadors, sitting at Paris, but also that it be referred without comment; but it was not less clear that the opinion of Geneva was bound to be trans-

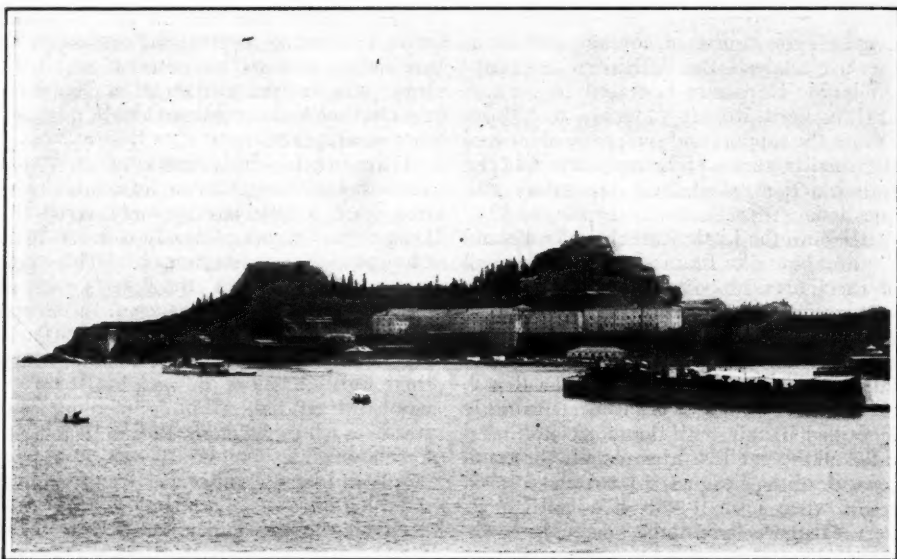
mitted to Paris and that the League itself, while consenting to postpone discussion of the question of its competence, raised by Italy, was resolved in the end to pass upon the question and beyond any doubt to assert that competence.

I am writing in advance of any final decision, but it seems to me reasonably clear that Lord Robert has not only saved the League, but has very largely restored British prestige before Europe. This new Europe which we are all following with so much interest and bewilderment is, beyond all else, a Europe of smaller states. There are to-day only three Great Powers, where there were six before the war; but there are now at least half a dozen medium-sized states—such as Belgium, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia—which have a very considerable influence, totally unlike anything existing a decade ago.

Given the divisions between the Great Powers, and particularly between France and Britain, the supreme importance to each of enlisting the support of the smaller states is obvious. So far France has been able to check British policy on the Continent because, on the whole, French policy and French strength have been employed to defend the rights of the smaller states or French interests have coincided with those of these states.

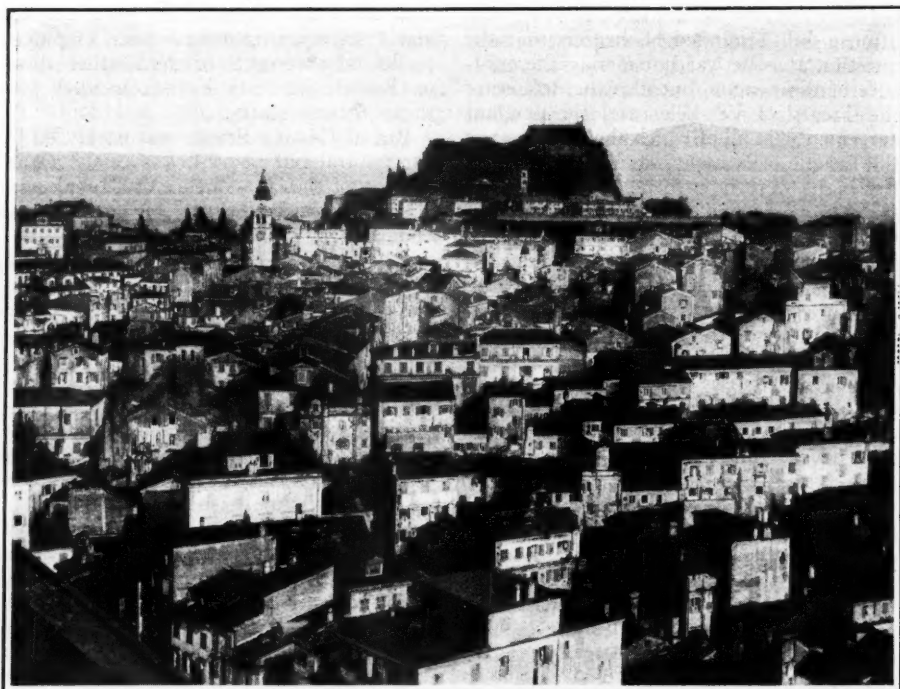
But at Geneva France was paralyzed by her natural but nevertheless costly apprehension of the consequence of a break with Italy. She had always to consider the costs to her of so wounding Italian feelings that, when the next German attack might come, Italy would stand with her foes. And France had also to reckon with the consequences of driving Italy into British arms and thus imperiling her Ruhr victory, now all but won. Therefore Hanotaux resigned the field to Lord Robert; and in the larger sense the British, for the moment at least, seized the leadership not alone in the League of Nations but in Europe. The consequences of this British policy, founded on good sense and good morals and good diplomacy, are likely to be considerable in other fields in the future.

It seems to me wiser to leave for next month any appraisal of the service rendered by the League in this emergency; but—thanks to the decision of the British Government to back the League, and to the courage and skill of Lord Robert, who doubtless powerfully influenced British



© Ewing Galloway

A PORTION OF THE ISLAND OF CORFU, WHICH OCCUPIES A STRATEGIC POSITION AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE ADRIATIC SEA, BETWEEN ITALY AND ALBANIA



THE TOWN OF CORFU, WITH THE OLD FORT IN THE BACKGROUND

(The island of Corfu is about 20 miles wide and 40 miles long. It was under the protection of Venice from 1386 to 1797. Later it came under the protectorate of Great Britain, and in 1864 it was ceded to Greece)

policy—it would be unfair and inexact to say that the League had failed or to neglect to note the very great and promising influence exerted by the small countries in the whole discussion. In proclaiming that the League lacked competence to deal with the affair, Mussolini challenged the very existence of the Geneva body. Failure to accept the challenge would have been confession of bankruptcy. At the very least that confession has not yet been made, and seems unlikely to be made. On the contrary, the League seems to be gaining decision as it proceeds.

But, in any event, there can be no two ways of thinking with respect of British and French policies. French criticism of the Poincaré course indicates that French sentiment is by no means united behind the policy which we should call "pussy-footing" at Geneva. Not a few Frenchmen recognize that France has permitted her troubles on the Rhine to engross her so completely as to open the way for a British action which has at a single stroke regained much prestige lost elsewhere, and perhaps earned for Britain moral leadership in Europe. Thus, if there is any profit for anyone in this wretched affair it is likely to inure to Britain and justly so—which, again, is the last thing in the world Mussolini could have desired.

Americans, moreover, remembering Lord Robert Cecil's recent excursion to our shores on behalf of the League of Nations, will feel new respect for an advocate who, having pleaded for the League while out of office, has not permitted any question of political expedience to prevent him from making good his words by deeds creditable alike to himself and to his country which has backed him.

As I close this article on September 10, there comes the welcome news that a settlement of the whole Corfu mess is assured. This announcement follows two highly significant actions. The first was by the Council of Ambassadors sitting at Paris, which has served upon Greece a formal note calling for the immediate payment of compensatory honors to the flag and sovereignty of Italy and a similarly prompt deposit of a sum of \$2,160,000, the amount fixed by Italy as proper reparation. This deposit is to be held against the finding of a commission—on which Britain, France, and Italy are to be represented—after investigation of the massacre of the

Italian officers. The second circumstance is the official announcement from Rome that the Italian Government will accept this decision, and it reaffirms its readiness to evacuate Corfu upon payment by Greece of the damages assessed by the commission.

The action of the Council of Ambassadors followed the line laid down in the League of Nations discussion of the matter and embodied in a communication from Geneva to Paris. Moreover, since the Council is itself a creation of and in a sense dependent upon the League, it would be unfair to argue that the League had either shirked responsibility in the matter or suffered itself to be forestalled by an independent diplomatic body.

In reality the course of the Council of Ambassadors constituted the intervention of Europe. It represented precisely the sort of action Lord Grey strove so earnestly to promote in the fatal days of July, 1914. Technically Mussolini maintained his ground, refusing to permit the League to act in the dispute. But actually he accepted the verdict of a Council which was hardly to be separated from the League. Even though this adjustment may dispose of the Corfu episode, however, it would be a mistake to dismiss it lightly from memory or fail to perceive that it has opened new and very disquieting horizons, not the least of which is the sudden stiffening of Yugoslavia in the matter of Fiume, and the present danger that after Corfu we shall have a new Fiume crisis.

V. THE RUHR

It remains now to discuss briefly the developments in the Ruhr, since last month. On the surface these have been two: First, the definite rejection of all of the British proposals contained in the Curzon note to Poincaré and, secondly, the fall of the Cuno Government and the coming of Stresemann. More important, however, than either event is the clear evidence now coming from Berlin that the policy of passive resistance, and indeed the whole German struggle in the Ruhr, is on the point of collapse and that Germany has already opened direct negotiations both with Paris and with Brussels, which means that Germany is asking the terms of surrender.

With Poincaré's reply to Curzon it is not necessary to deal at any great length, because, when all is said and done, it was

no more than a courteous but final negative. France denied the British contentions that the occupation of the Ruhr was illegal and that the occupation was responsible either for the German economic collapse or for the growth of British unemployment. In sum, Poincaré held to his thesis and defended his policy while still appealing to Britain to join France. Both in the communication and in public speeches he urged that the Anglo-French entente be maintained. At the same time he reaffirmed categorically his pledge on behalf of France to annex no German territory.

What was most interesting, after all, in this French document was the statement or restatement of the French demands with respect of German reparations. France asked the sum of 26,000,000,000 gold marks (or approximately \$6,500,000,000) clear of all other considerations. In addition she insisted that Germany must be liable for whatever amount, in excess of this total, which might be required by France to discharge her obligations to Great Britain and to the United States. In a word, the French not only repeated their familiar declaration "We stay until Germany pays," but they added the sum total of their bill. But always insisting upon occupation until payment was completed, Poincaré gave clear assurances that with the end of passive resistance the character of the occupation would be fundamentally modified.

Recalling that the British note had fixed the British demand upon Germany and upon Britain's allied debtors at 14,000,000,000 gold marks (the current value of the British debt to the United States), and that Belgium had asked 5,000,000,000, the bill of these three countries—France, Great Britain, and Belgium—against Germany would roughly speaking total 45,000,000,000 gold marks, or around \$11,000,000,000. To this must be added the Italian account of perhaps \$1,000,000,000. But, in addition to this \$12,000,000,000 (or 50,000,000,000 gold marks), France, Italy, and Belgium demanded whatever sums they might be called upon to pay on account of allied debts.

Meantime, however, the refusal of the French to follow British views led to the final fall of Cuno. His government had been based upon the conviction that in the end Britain, probably backed by the United States, would intervene to check France and save Germany. This was the only

conceivable justification of the policy of passive resistance. But now it was clear both that the United States would not intervene and that the British intervention had come to nothing, and could come to nothing since Britain was not prepared to use force to coerce France and conquer Poincaré's obstinate determination.

Thanks to the policy of passive resistance, German currency had undergone an inflation which had, in effect, abolished it. Every sort of political and economic disturbance now threatened from within the Reich. The moment had come when there was no escape from surrender, and it was necessary to find a new premier who might do what was now inescapable. The choice fell upon Stresemann, long regarded as Cuno's successor; and with his entrance into office the new leader, by his public speeches, indicated that the policy of passive resistance to France had been discarded and that he recognized the fact that immediate and complete ruin could now only be avoided, if at all, by a satisfactory adjustment with France and Belgium.

Almost automatically the British disappeared from the situation. Baldwin and Curzon traveled to France for vacations, and there were hints of later meetings with Poincaré. Moreover, the Belgians, in their response to the British, while in the main keeping close to the French, openly proposed new conversations of a more "discreet" character than that of the notes which, flying between London and Paris in recent days, had set Europe by the ears.

And as the British disappeared there was prompt suggestion from both Paris and Berlin of meetings between French and German industrialists. In place of threats of war between the two countries, the new suggestion was for economic coöperation, the combination of French iron and German coal resources. By interpretation this meant that France was to find her reparations in a gigantic participation in German industry and at the same time to reestablish her own Lorraine iron industries which had been crippled following their total divorce from German coal.

As I write, the striking circumstance is the entire absence both in Paris and Berlin of all the bitterness and recrimination of the past months. The question has now become one of finding a formula for German surrender which will satisfy the situation of Franco-Belgian victory, while not bringing

ruin upon the Stresemann government and indeed upon the whole political structure of the Reich.

What really remains to be seen now is whether surrender, however camouflaged, can save the German structure. Has the resistance gone too long and the disintegration become so general that we shall see in no distant time three or four, perhaps half a dozen German states, instead of the Reich—conceivably an independent monarchist Bavaria, a republican Prussia, a Rhineland republic, and perhaps a renascent Hanover? This is the problem and must remain so for many weeks to come.

Much depends, too, upon the attitude of the German industrialists. Stresemann, like his predecessors, took office resolved and pledged to get from these capitalists the sums necessary to restore a degree of monetary order. But he had not been in office long before his elaborate program of voluntary contributions from Stinnes and his associates seemed to have been as successfully sandbagged as the similar plans of other premiers had been blocked. But if Germany is to be saved from revolution and disintegration, it can only be saved by the intervention of the capitalists and by relatively enormous contributions on their part. And they have always, hitherto, evaded such contributions.

To-day, Germany, has become such a welter of confused and confusing factions, passions, and policies that no man can safely venture to forecast the immediate future. Revolution, revolutions, coming from the right and from the left, from the Monarchists and the Communists, are equally conceivable and equally dangerous. Disappointment and disillusionment at the loss of the Ruhr War may prove even more potent as a factor in inducing disorder and disintegration than did the emotion which followed the loss of the World War itself.

But, in any event, the past month has seen the complete and enduring failure of British intervention, and the recognition, in Germany, as a consequence, that the Ruhr War has been lost, that France and Belgium have won their fight, and that Germany, without further reliance upon any outside help, must go to Canossa, which in this case means taking up again the road to Paris. This time there will be far different emotions from those of the Germans who were treading the pathway at this time nine years ago.

Literally, the ninth anniversary of the Marne saw the consummation of German defeat in the Ruhr. In the Marne battle Germany lost her struggle to win the World War. In the Ruhr she has lost her struggle to escape from the consequences of that unsuccessful war. Will Germany survive the two defeats? This is the all-important interrogation for the world now.

But whether Germany escapes disintegration after having accepted French terms, or falls into political and economic ruin, she disappears as a power in Europe for a long time to come. Poincaré's victory must give France a position which she had not occupied in Europe since the Battle of Leipsic, and Germany sinks to a condition of weakness which finds no parallel since 1813. And it is still far from improbable that in the end Germany will sink to something recalling her condition at the close of the Thirty Years War.

In any case, all depends now upon whether the terribly shaken political, social, and economic framework of Germany can stand the enormous strains that must now be imposed, if there is to be any restoration of financial and industrial health. Moreover, whatever illusions Germans might have cherished at the close of the World War, there is nothing to disguise the extent and reality of the present disaster.

For eight months the world has been watching the Ruhr War just as it observed the war of trenches for nearly four years; and in both cases the deadlock has long seemed complete and permanent. But everyone must recall how, with the collapse of the Hindenburg Line in the first days of October, 1918, the war of position suddenly gave way to the war of movement, and each day and hour saw striking changes. Such may well be the immediate future now and events in Germany may move with the same rapidity that battle lines of Northern France flowed, when, at last, German defeat became unmistakable.

Bernhardi wrote "World Power or Downfall"; for him that was the German alternative, not impossibly the accuracy of his forecast may be established in the next few weeks. At all events the fate of modern Germany is now in the balance, and the next few weeks may well be among the most interesting and significant in all the crowded years which have followed the arrival of the supreme catastrophe of 1914. Thus, while a new dream of empire is disclosing itself in

the Adriatic and the Ægean, an older vision of national greatness is sinking along the Rhine.

If, moreover, the European spectacle is less dramatically appealing than in the days of actual war and in the period when Americans were following the progress of their own soldiers to victory on the battlefields of France, on the historical side it is even more significant. Out of the welter a new Europe is rising and taking forms which will supply the explanations of much if not all that is to happen in the next half-century. The old Europe which we knew has been transformed by the rise of the smaller nations. Their liberation is some degree parallels the influx of the wandering tribes when Rome fell; and their arrival coincides—and indeed results from—the fall not of one empire but of three, Romanoff, Hapsburg, and Hohenzollern.

The Europe of yesterday was a continent of six great powers, which, when they agreed, could dominate and divide as they chose. When they quarrelled they were first paralyzed in their foreign policies and then brought into violent and devastating collision. The Europe of to-day is a continent with no more than three powers. Of these, Britain is only measurably concerned, since her real field of activity remains her colossal empire beyond the seas. But in place of the three great powers which have vanished there stand half a dozen smaller powers, the support of which is essential to the success of any great power.

Because France was, on the whole, able to rally these smaller states to her support in the Ruhr controversy and in her German policy generally, she has triumphed in the face of British opposition, and of Italian neutrality preceded by open opposition. But because these same smaller powers solidly rallied against Italian policy in the Adriatic, this policy has been blocked. Because Britain put herself in the forefront of the resistance to Italian purposes, she has not only won the support of these smaller nations in the Corfu affair, but she has seriously shaken French hold upon their sympathies, since France for a variety of reasons remained passive.

We speak now of French supremacy on the Continent, but this supremacy can endure only as long as the French are able to rely upon the support of Poland, Belgium, and the Little Entente. And as the Corfu incident has shown, this support is condi-

tioned upon a community of interest alone. Moreover, as the recent discussions in Geneva have indicated, the hope of the League of Nations—and, indeed, of European peace—rests almost more with the small than with the great powers.

VI. THE JAPANESE DISASTER

While the circumstances of the recent Japanese tragedy lie outside the field of this comment, I cannot permit this terrible catastrophe, which has literally moved the American heart as nothing since the invasion of Belgium, to pass without pointing out how clearly and unmistakably this American emotion discloses for the future the fact of American friendship for our neighbors across the Pacific.

The Washington Conference, whatever else it did or did not accomplish, ended for Americans that feeling of doubt and suspicion which had developed with years of misunderstandings and irritations. After the conference the change through the country was instantly manifest, and with the passing of two years this change has extended.

It will be a fact of enduring international importance if the American sorrow, sympathy, and eager desire to aid in the presence of this unprecedented calamity shall make clear beyond the Pacific the reality of American friendship, and the present and enduring desire here to live not merely on terms of amity but of friendship with the Japanese nation.

The spectacle of the American press—which only a short time ago gave place to suspicions and criticism of Japan—filling its columns with appeals for assistance; and that of the American public, from the President to the least unofficial citizen, sharing in the generous competition of giving, recalling as it does the noblest period in the war, when the appeals of the Red Cross dominated our news and our opinion, supplies an answer to the charge that we have, since the war, relapsed into sordid and selfish materialism.

May we not hope that seeing this American emotion, even in the time of supreme domestic agony, Japan may identify it as the authentic expression of the true American feeling toward a neighbor nation and measure this feeling, not by any gift large or small, but by the spirit that dominated and directed the giving.

MUSSOLINI AT CLOSE RANGE

BY MARJORIE SHULER

SOME women have been born to suffrage. Some have achieved suffrage. Some have had suffrage thrust upon them. But only one group of women has come into the suffrage by a single gesture of a single individual, a kingly wave of the hand which swept all obstacles and established procedure out of the way. That group is the Italian women, the latest to be enfranchised; the first southern European women to receive the vote.

Benito Mussolini, Premier of Italy, declared that educated women, women who had given sons in the war, and working women should vote in the municipal elections. And, behold, it was so! It calls to mind the scenes of ancient Rome, when a dictator's decree was put into force immediately and without question. No event in the spectacular rise of this man of the people is more eloquent of the characteristics which have carried him into power than this sweeping declaration of his and its prompt enactment into law this last summer.

One must go to Italy to hear the interesting stories of Mr. Mussolini's career. The press censorship is so rigid that little comes out of the country in comparison with the talk which is rife in every city and village there concerning this "most talked-of man in the world to-day." The world knows that when Communism was about to take possession of the country a swart, dark-eyed, beetle-browed, heavy-jowled man with a strong forehead and a weak

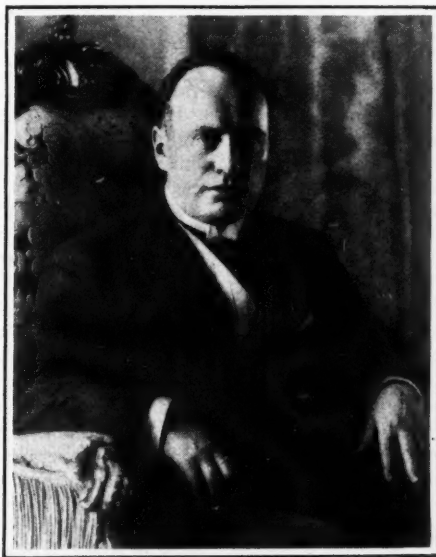
mouth came out of Milan and led a march on Rome. The world knows that this man had organized the marchers, called the Fascists, summoning men and women all over the country in the name of patriotism to rise and save Italy. The world knows the castor-oil incident, the remedy which was administered in pint doses to enemies of the Fascists. The world knows that after his successful march on Rome, Mr.

Mussolini, the former radical political exile, became the present conservative Premier.

Beyond that there are great gaps in the story. Not that there have been no determined efforts to gather opinions. There are plenty of persons to tell the good things of the Fascist movement. The peasants who stand back for your carriage to pass, on the dusty roads near Milan, stretch forth their arms in the grave salute of Fascismo to your driver, who responds. Children run through the streets wearing

the black stocking caps which show them to be little Fascists. There is pro-sentiment on every side; but the critics are carefully silent. And who can form a proper judgment who hears only one side?

A woman correspondent went recently into some tiny villages in northern Italy, armed with permission from the local Fascist leader. She asked opinions from people in their homes. She talked and listened and that night she was seized by local Fascists and locked up, an imprisonment which was terminated only by the



BENITO MUSSOLINI, PREMIER OF ITALY

most vigorous personal efforts of the leader who had granted her the permission and who was obliged to go in person to secure her release.

Critics of the Government find it wise to leave the country, so it is no wonder that people speak cautiously in Italy to-day. But they still write on their walls. That ancient form of expression for the overfull Italian heart continues to have full reign, and people steal out by night to scribble on fences and walls the upright "W," accompanied by "Fascismo" or "Mussolini," which betokens approval, or the down-pointed "M," which means utter contempt.

Occasionally the strain shows itself in a carefully worded request for information about the Socialists arrested for signing a manifesto and detained in prison for weeks without trial. Or there will be a worried comment about a former political leader, said to be held incommunicado on his own country estate.

So it is that the world does not hear the inner tales of Mr. Mussolini's present reign, for reign it is, notwithstanding the fact that Italy has a King whose name is not Mussolini. Recently the King made a visit to southern Italy. Several hundred mayors of little villages paid him a visit of homage. The next day the Fascisti government issued a manifesto. If such events were to continue they would be considered inimical to Fascismo. The events stopped. That is what it means to be king in Italy to-day.

But, whereas the King of Italy may be shorn of his pomp and majesty, there are plenty of gilded trappings for the "man of the people," who has become Italy's Premier. Within one month I saw Benito Mussolini five times, and on every occasion he was surrounded with a splendor which a prince might envy. It is something of a feat to see the Premier at all. He is rarely to be observed save on his 6 o'clock morning constitutional through the outlying streets of Rome; and he is so little known to many of the citizens that I have seen him pass through a crowd waiting to greet him and be out of the way before the citizens knew that he had appeared.

He always travels *en suite*, so to speak. My first glimpse of him was surrounded by soldiers and cheering populace wearing the black shirts and black stocking caps which are the emblems of the Fascists. My next view was still more brief. I was walking

up the Palatine Hill. Now the way up the Palatine Hill is steep and sharp. It makes one appreciate the hardihood of the ancient Romans even more than do the crumbling tombs along the Appian Way. Also the way up the Palatine is lined with ruins. Whether one stops because of an avid interest in the ruins or because of the steepness of the way, the result is the same. Time is wasted. With a group of other guests of the Government, I was doing my best up the hill. Suddenly I beheld Mr. Mussolini coming down. I stopped in astonishment. Were we not climbing the hill for the sole purpose, officially, of shaking hands with Mr. Mussolini? Was he not supposed to be welcoming us in the name of Italy? Mr. Mussolini was in correct afternoon attire, a high silk hat resting on his arm; a portentous frown resting on his face. The guests were late. Mr. Mussolini was annoyed. Therefore the guests would not be received. There would be no reception. And there was none.

He was still wearing his frown a few nights later. And on such a night, too! The occasion was a gala performance at the opera for the visiting King and Queen of England. Every seat in the house had been given by invitation. Every guest from pit to topmost gallery was in evening dress. The stairs and corridors were banked with palms. The boxes and galleries were wreathed with roses. The Queens of England and Italy were regal in their heavy crowns and wealth of jewels over their white satin evening gowns. The Kings looked much as husbands do look at the opera, although their uniforms saved them from too complete oblivion. Everywhere, in every corner from the street to the top of the theater, were soldiers in dress uniforms and rows of medals. It was a glorious sight.

There had been a tremendous ovation for Mr. Mussolini when he entered with two members of his cabinet and took the box across from which I sat. There was another ovation when the royal party took seats. Could it be said that one ovation was noisier than the other? Could that have been the weighty question which twisted the brow of the Premier for the entire evening, so that never once did he smile, never once did he relax to applaud a very creditable performance of "The Barber of Seville," never once did he glance toward the royal box?

I saw him again in Rome, still surrounded with splendor, standing in the grand salon of an ancient palace, while there filed past him a group who had stood for an hour in the courtyard under the burning sun. That time it was not the women but Mr. Mussolini himself who delayed the reception. Slowly they filed by, a clasp of the hand for the favored, a nod of the head to those less fortunate, oblivion for those who had no claim to distinction. Was the claim based rather on looks or on brains? Some of the women in the line are still discussing that question.

But none of these appearances compared in majesty with one a fortnight later in Venice. Venice had been in a fever of preparation for days. School children had been marched in and out of the great columns of Saint Mark's Square, while they rehearsed the songs which they were to sing for the arriving leader. His visit coincided with the annual day of mourning for Garibaldi. And between dividing the day evenly so that the flags, weighted with crepe, should fly at half-mast for a proper interval for the great liberator, and then should be run up to the top to wave a proper welcome for Benito Mussolini, the Venetians spent an exceedingly busy and very trying time.

Then it seemed as though the elements were not altogether propitious. A sirocco blew up, and anyone can figure what a sirocco would do to a city where the traffic is entirely by water. It had been decided to take out the twelve-oared gondolas, which hitherto had been used only to greet royalty. And it became necessary to start in the morning in order to row the big ships against the wind down the Grand Canal to the station, where they were due in the late afternoon. They came back in triumphal procession, the great white gondola whose prow is formed of wooden horses and whose oarsmen wear white satin simulating coats of mail; and the purple and scarlet and yellow boats, with their gilded and carved prows and their men in brilliant costumes to match.

Mr. Mussolini's gondola was royal blue, with hangings and cushions of rich blue velvet covered with gold lace and braid. He stepped out of it in front of the old palace Dandolo, the present Hotel Danieli, while a band blared forth the Fascisti march and the cheering populace added to the din and confusion. It was a royal

welcome. Flags flew, the band played, and Mr. Mussolini came out on his balcony to make a speech. My own balcony was just beneath. To be sure a sixth-rate Persian rug covered the front of mine, while the one which hung from his was priceless.

But my balcony nevertheless was an excellent vantage point from which to watch the crowds, their arms flung upward and outward in the Fascisti sign. And it was an even better one from which to hear the speech. It was most interesting, that speech, and it embodied the strength and weakness of the Fascisti campaign. It began with a reminder of the great Venetian republic of the past. That which always has been the queen of the sea, said Mr. Mussolini to his intent audience, should to-day become the queen of the Mediterranean which is our mother.

Just an appeal to the provincial patriotism of the Venetians, perhaps. But compare it with the posters which two weeks before had adorned Rome in celebration of a battle of the Great War. Certain of our allies in the war, declared the posters, are now trying to make the battles which we won seem of less consequence, our Italian victories of less importance. Not too friendly an attitude toward "certain of our allies."

And there are also old speeches of Mr. Mussolini—speeches made just before he became Premier. What dreams do they reveal of empire on the sea, of domination over the Mediterranean—and beyond.

There was a moment when the crowd started to applaud. But the kingly manner stopped them. With another of his terrible frowns, Mr. Mussolini turned his head from side to side; and a hush like the Great Silence fell over the crowd.

Then he gave his conclusion: "Viva il Rey; viva l'Italia, viva il Fascismo!" The King was there, the nation was there, but the climax was Fascismo. Fascismo which has brought order where disorder threatened, Fascismo which has set a people to work where idleness had prevailed, Fascismo whose future is dependent solely upon the people, upon the development of the individual to assume the responsibilities of democracy. Fascismo to the front as it is everywhere in Italy. Fascismo so important that it is difficult to tell where the Government begins and Fascismo leaves off; Fascisti guards so conspicuous that no one can determine where the authority of the Fascists ends and the police begins.

ON THE SURFACE IN ITALY

BY JOHN MARTIN VINCENT

[Dr. Vincent, who is Professor of European History at Johns Hopkins University, is an experienced observer of European life. During the past summer he revisited Italy, and the following notes summarize his impressions of that country.—THE EDITOR]

SOME weeks of observation in northern Italy have left impressions which seem worth recording. Naturally the passing traveler does not get into the spirit of the country, nor can he fully appreciate economic conditions from mere outward appearances, but the question of recovery from war conditions gets a certain answer from the looks of things.

In the first place, the landscape during the summer had been under great disadvantage. The heat had been unprecedented; the roads were tracks of white powder and the atmosphere by day a quivering medium of glare. Nevertheless the land showed careful attention. The cereal crops were in good condition and, in fact, were reported to be heavier than usual. The fruit, which plays such a prominent part in the life of Italy, had all the appearance of the diligent care which one expects of the vineyard and the orchard. Whatever may have been the situation during the war, there seems to be sufficient labor and sufficient ambition to keep down the weeds.

In many parts the hay and grain are but incidental crops between the trees, and, in consequence, the farming in such small areas requires much hand labor, yet machinery is not absent. Mowers and reapers were at work in the more open country, though not in the proportion one sees at home. The proverbial diligence of the north Italian still has plenty of scope for the labor of his hands and for those of his wife and children.

In certain parts the gray foliage of the olive, the dusty roads, and the blistering sun give the country an arid look predicting hardship or poverty for the farmer; an impression which disappears when one thinks of the price of imported olive oil. This dry landscape gives way to green where vines prevail, the freshness being maintained by careful and even laborious irrigation in a country which without watering would be no desert.

To say that every available foot of soil is in use would be an exaggeration, for there is not only rough waste land in this ancient country, but one can see unused edges which in Belgium would be under cultivation. Yet, on the whole, the care for the corners is both impressive and instructive. For the moment the impression that the Italian agriculturist is hopefully hard at work is the most important. The creation of a new cabinet office of Minister of Economics is therefore not an act of desperation, but a step in advance in a path of reasonable development.

As to the cities, the outward appearances of activity are not always the signs of real prosperity. Furthermore, the larger centers are invaded by hosts of tourists who fill the streets and the historic monuments with an exaggerated movement of transitory economic importance. Whether commerce and industry are flourishing must be decided by statistics, but if you ask if the population looks prosperous, the answer must be yes. The people on the street look comfortable in suitable clothes and there is almost no display of ragged, abject poverty. Where it exists, it is at least kept from public view, and street begging is reduced to a minimum.

One is astonished, however, at the number of people who seem to be at leisure. Not merely during the sacred hours of twelve to two when shops are closed, but in the morning as well, and especially in the late afternoon. In Milan, for example, in the Gallery of Victor Emmanuel, in the old Market Place, on the shady sides of the cathedral square and elsewhere on the streets, no end of men are walking up and down or talking in groups as if every day were a holiday. No more excitement is evident than usual in Italian conversation, in which words are but a minor part of the episode.

In Florence the historic Piazza de la Signora is ordinarily flooded with recurring

waves of personally conducted touring parties, but on certain mornings the shady side contains a crowd of men evidently from the surrounding country, who may have come there for market reasons, but of this there is no visible sign. The countryman, by the way, has long since lost his picturesque distinction of costume except in most remote parts. He wears the same monotonous clothing that the bourgeois shopkeeper makes and sells and wears, so that the difference lies in the depth of tan in his face. This uniformity gives an appearance of common prosperity which may be deceptive, but it breaks the lines of an agricultural caste.

Looking back over various visits to this region covering a period of forty years, one notes a vast change in the cleanliness of towns. This might well be expected, but a great improvement has taken place in the last fifteen. The water supply is decidedly better in quantity and quality, reducing or removing the danger to the foreign visitor in its use. The streets in many places are swept with meticulous care and in general there is a gratifying sense for public hygiene which in earlier years seemed lacking.

The invasion of the automobile has by no means displaced the horse, but it has given the Italian driver another means of venting his feelings. He always did love to dash through the streets at a perilous speed, bounding over the cobble-stones and crack-

ing his whip till the wall resounded. Now he can make more noise than ever. Private owners and chauffeurs alike race through the crowded avenues with cutouts open and horns blowing till your ears ache with the racket. With no restraint, they pass standing street cars while passengers leap for their lives. To own a machine which made no noise would be a misfortune, a damper on the spirits, a repression of the soul, which no native motorist would endure. Yet the increasing number of motor vehicles is an economic factor of great importance in this ancient Roman Empire, as it is elsewhere in the world.

Like all other nations Italy suffers from the stagnation which has followed the war in ways which cannot be measured in figures. A paper lira which should be worth twenty cents can be had for five. Prices have risen, but not enough to balance this exchange, hence certain things seem cheap to the American. Certain services seem inadequately paid, yet the outward appearance of the citizen is cheerful and the tone of the newspapers sufficiently hopeful. As in the whole continental press, the main feature of news is the contest over the Ruhr. With monotonous iteration the exchange of notes is reported with variety of comment. The monotony, however, is not the fault of the Italian newspaper, which is giving careful attention to a vital question and facing destiny with courage.

ROOSEVELT IN MONTANA

RECOLLECTIONS OF TWO VISITS

BY EDWARD B. HOWELL

WHEN Theodore Roosevelt was a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, in 1900, the labor unions of Butte, Montana, invited him to address them. It was a mark of their confidence in him that they should have done so. Nor was it strange that he should have accepted the invitation, since the support of organized labor in 1900 was not a thing to be despised.

The unions provided for the occasion a large amphitheater at the local ball park. A speaker's stand was built near the batter's plate, and Mr. Roosevelt could be seen and heard from all parts of the structure.

To be sure of a seat, I went early. I had known of Theodore Roosevelt from the time he was in the New York Assembly, soon after his graduation from college, but I had never seen him. As the audience was gathering, I wondered if Mr. Roosevelt realized the dynamite in the situation. Butte was the stronghold of the Western Federation of Miners, and was known as the most strongly organized union town in the country. If Mr. Roosevelt should cater unworthily to organized labor in its stronghold, the great metropolitan dailies would have blazing headlines of the address the

next morning. On the other hand, if he should assume a critical attitude toward organized labor, he might alienate not only the workingmen in his audience but organized labor all over the country.

That speech convinced me that Mr. Roosevelt was able to take care of himself. He defined the rights of labor and of capital in such axiomatic terms that there was no room for criticism. The miners went away feeling that he was their friend, and mine officials had nothing but praise.

Four years later the Western Federation of Miners was in trouble in Colorado, and the Governor of that State had sent militia to the scene of action. The miners objected to the presence of the State troops. The miners' union of Butte sent a memorial to President Roosevelt on the subject, in effect asking him to interfere and take jurisdiction of the situation. The position was less of a tribute to the wisdom of the petitioners than to their trust in Mr. Roosevelt.

But week after week passed and no response came from the memorial. The miners began to question what the trouble was and were disposed to complain. About this time I happened to be in Washington, and called on President Roosevelt. In the course of our conversation, I asked him if he had received the petition, and told him that the miners of Butte were expecting an answer. I told him that I appreciated the legal difficulties of complying with the miners' request. I reminded him that organized labor had complained bitterly when President Cleveland had sent federal troops into Chicago to put down the railroad riots without waiting for a request from Governor Altgeld.

Mr. Roosevelt replied that he had received the memorial from the Butte miners, that he believed there was fault on both sides in the Colorado trouble, that the whole matter had been referred to the Department of Labor for investigation and report, and that no action would be taken until that report was received. The Associated Press dispatches of the next day announced, in much the same terms, that the matter was under investigation. I also noticed in campaign statements later emanating from Washington that in the matter of the Colorado situation the administration was unwilling to follow the precedent set by President Cleveland in 1894.

While I was wholly out of sympathy with

Mr. Roosevelt's defection from the Republican party in 1912, his patriotic and admirable conduct during the World War more than overcame my lingering objection. In the stagnant moral atmosphere of America during the years preceding our entry into the war, the words of Roosevelt came like whiffs of ozone. He was the unofficial leader of all red-blooded Americans.

So that when Mr. Roosevelt came to Billings, Montana, on October 5, 1918, to make a political address, he was met by Republican leaders from all over the State and greeted with wholehearted cordiality and loyalty. The political differences of 1912 were forgotten. The newly built auditorium, holding over 7000, was packed to the rafters.

On the balcony railing facing the speaker's rostrum, hung a large Maltese cross, a reproduction of the Roosevelt cattle brand when he was ranching on the Little Missouri. Early in his address, Mr. Roosevelt called attention to the familiar sign, and in substance said:

Whatever I have been or done in public life for the Nation is largely due to what I learned during the time when I toiled with and alongside of the men of this western country—in Montana, Wyoming and the two Dakotas. I have the keenest sense of the personal obligations I am under to these old-timers with whom I worked.

Mr. Roosevelt was not a born orator. His voice lacked carrying qualities, and had a trick of breaking into a falsetto, especially when he was about to touch a humorous note. Yet I think that almost anyone, having a reasonable facility of expression, who thinks earnestly and deeply on any important subject until he is full to overflowing, needs only the proper occasion to rise to heights of true eloquence.

At Billings, Mr. Roosevelt had the subject and the audience to call forth the very best that was in him. It was one of the most eloquent speeches that I have ever heard. For two hours the audience listened to him with rapt attention. Men of all shades of political opinion were present. A large portion of the audience was composed of farmers belonging to the Non-Partisan League, but there was no murmur of dissent from anything that the speaker said. Every part of the address met with enthusiastic applause. Everyone felt the force of Roosevelt's rugged manhood.

At that time he appeared to be in robust health, but it was in appearance only. Three months later telegraphic dispatches brought the sad news of his death.



PICKING COTTON: THIS IS SLOW HAND LABOR, AND IT IS BECOMING THE LIMITING FACTOR IN PRODUCTION AS NEGRO TENANTS LEAVE SOUTHERN FARMS

THE NEGRO EXODUS AND SOUTHERN AGRICULTURE

BY P. O. DAVIS

(Alabama Polytechnic Institute)

THERE is now in progress a Negro exodus from the South to other sections. The exact extent of it can not be determined but it appears to be at high tide, perhaps at its peak. The Department of Agriculture reports a net movement of 324,000 Negroes from farms to towns and cities in 1922. Not all of them, however, moved to towns and cities outside of the South. The best available information indicates that the average annual movement of Negroes away from the South since 1916 has been about 200,000. Prior to 1916 the exodus averaged probably ten or twelve thousand annually, from the close of the Civil War.

Apparently the movement has been to industrial centers almost exclusively. In the main it has been to industrial centers in the North and East, but a few have landed as far West as the Pacific Coast. Individuals have reached other countries but the total is very small.

But in the South the chief concern is not about where Negroes are going, but (1) Why are they leaving and (2) What will be the effect of their going on southern agriculture? These are now live questions in the South

and perhaps in other sections. The South has, to a large extent, a monopoly on the world's greatest clothing plant, cotton; and from the beginning most of this crop has been produced by Negro labor. Roughly, 80 per cent. of all Negroes in the South live on farms, and a majority of them are engaged in raising cotton. Thus the world's greatest clothing plant and America's greatest export crop is involved.

To explain why this hegira is going on, many reasons have been advanced. They include poor schools, extortionate charges of creditors, swindling, wretched homes, unfair suffrage laws, cheating in the handling of cotton, injustice in courts, boll weevils, and high wages elsewhere.

A study of the evidence in the case reveals that the main reason is an economic one. Stated in another way, it is largely due to low returns for labor on southern farms and high returns for labor in industrial centers.

It can not be denied that most Negro schools in the South are far short of what they should be, that Negro homes are frequently only shacks, that there are individuals who cheat Negroes, and that court

decisions are not always fair to Negroes; but these are as good as they have ever been and, as a whole, much better.

Splendid Feeling Exists

So the part these causes are contributing to the exodus is only minor. This is evidenced by the splendid feeling existing between the Negro and White races in the South. Not since the Civil War has the feeling been better, and never before has there been a stronger desire on the part of the white people to cooperate with Negroes for mutual betterment.

The splendid feeling existing between the two races was thoroughly demonstrated in Georgia last December when Major R. R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, was greeted by audiences varying from 1,500 to 4,000 people at each of thirteen cities and towns at which he delivered addresses on a good-will tour. At each point he was welcomed and introduced by the mayor of the city, and many of his hearers were whites. The fact that Georgia usually stands at the top of the list of States each year in lynching makes this more significant.

Major Moton spoke frequently of the good feeling existing, congratulating his race on its progress in becoming owners of farms, homes, churches, and other property, and pleading for continued progress along those lines. He said: "It is gratifying to me that we hear little nowadays of this foolish question of social equality brought up to disturb the good feeling on the part of both

races toward each other." And then he added: "We never had more strong, unselfish, God-fearing white friends right here, and in every other State in the South, than we have now." Major Moton is the worthy successor of Dr. Booker T. Washington, founder and builder of Tuskegee Institute and the outstanding leader of the Negro race.

So then the trouble must be, in the main, economic, even though other causes are contributing factors.

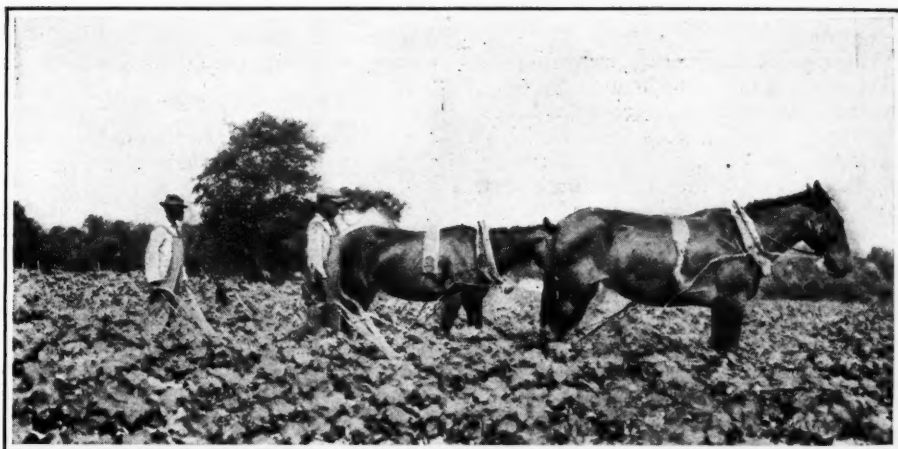
Boll Weevils Caused Many to Go

It is known that the migration of Negroes from the South has paralleled the spread of boll weevils. Much destruction frequently followed the spread of boll weevils, and in many instances this has been followed by Negro migration. Being well suited to cotton farming, they naturally become frantic when weevils make cotton-growing hazardous. Instead of trying to adjust their farming to meet boll-weevil conditions, they turn to industrial life.

It is an interesting fact that Negro migration from the rice and sugar-cane sections of the South has been relatively small as compared with migration from the cotton sections where weevil damages have been severe. Apparently the exodus from cotton areas where farming was changed to meet weevil conditions, in advance of their coming, was relatively small. This is illustrated by Dallas County, Alabama, which turned from one crop, cotton, to diversified farming and has kept most of her Negroes.



DURING COTTON CHOPPING, AND ALSO PICKING, THE ENTIRE FAMILY USUALLY WORKS IN THE FIELDS



PLOWING COTTON—TOO MUCH LABOR AND NOT ENOUGH MACHINERY

(With the same two mules and a cultivator, one man could do just as much work)

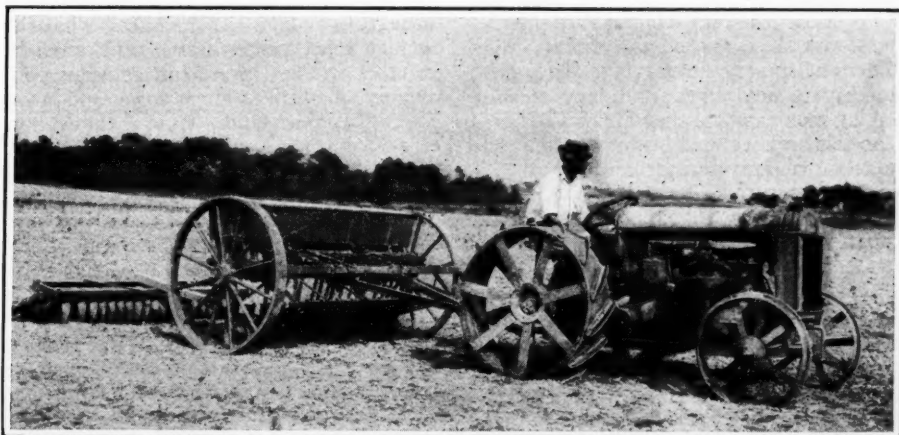
In addition to boll-weevil ravages, southern farmers, like those in other sections, had hard sailing in 1920 and 1921. Had they been keeping books most of them would have shown losses. And although 1922 was a much better year it was not good enough for the all-cotton Negro tenant to come out very far ahead. And so the exodus goes on. Legislation and other artificial means will not stop it. Its cause is economic and any satisfactory solution must deal with economic fundamentals.

Cash Income Low on Farms

In a survey in Turner County, Georgia, in 1913 the Department of Agriculture

found that the average annual cash income per Negro tenant—usually a family—was only \$290; and, all things considered, the Negro tenant producing only cotton was no better off in 1922 than in 1913, even though cotton was much higher in 1922.

Contrasted with a year's income of \$290, or less than \$1 per day, on southern farms, Negro laborers in industrial centers are getting several dollars for an eight-hour day. Various localities offer different wages. The Department of Labor reports that glass, steel, packing, stevedoring, automobile, and building employment pay a general average of about \$4.30 per day, and that hod-carriers receive \$5.50 to \$6.50 per day. In



WITH THIS OUTFIT MR. I. J. DORSEY OF ALABAMA IS DOING AS MUCH WORK AS SEVERAL MEN AND MULES COULD DO

(He is here sowing peas after oats to improve his land and make more cotton, on fewer acres, with less work, next year)

other kinds of work, equally high wages are being paid.

These wages, paid weekly, compared with farm wages, which come in annually, reveal the main reason why Negroes are leaving southern farms. The *Magazine of Wall Street* says that "some building-construction laborers get as much for a day's work as the farm-hired man gets for a month."

There is another factor which must be considered. Until recently immigration to this country was unrestricted, and the annual arrivals from foreign countries climbed to 1,200,000, but since the passage of laws restricting immigration only about 350,000 arrive each year. This caused a labor shortage, and southern farm Negroes are therefore taking places formerly filled by foreigners. During 1922 and 1923, manufacturing and mining industries have been pushed to fill orders which called for many more laborers, and the farms of the South were the best source of supply.

Incidentally, it should be mentioned that many white farmers in other sections have left the farm for other work during the last few years. The Census Bureau estimates that during the three-year period, January 1, 1920, to December 31, 1922, the total population of the United States increased 5,000,000, while the agricultural population decreased 460,000.

Negro Land-Owners not Leaving

There is very little information available as to the type of Negroes who are leaving the South, but it appears that the migration includes very few land-owners. Scarcely any of those who own land and are practicing a diversified system of farming, using modern machinery, are leaving. They have property to hold them, and they are also making money where they are.

As this great colored *hégira* goes on there are those who say that, "like the hare, the Negro will return." I am, however, unable to find evidence to support this belief. Reports of railroads and also other information indicate that probably 10 or 15 per cent. of them do return, but this is a very low minimum. It is lower than might be expected, because there will always be those who are disappointed and become dissatisfied under the most promising conditions.

On the other hand, a business depression or an improvement in agriculture to where its returns are equivalent to industrial returns will reverse the tide, but to what

extent no one can foresee. Obviously the majority will never return. Such is the history of movements of this kind.

Changes Must Be Made

From the beginning the South has played an important part in the nation's agriculture. It must continue to do so, even though vacant tenant houses are now very common in many sections and there is grave concern as to how southern agriculture will be affected by this heavy drain on farm labor. There is no dodging the fact that fundamental changes are both necessary and inevitable. Cotton must have major consideration in any new system, because cotton is the king of clothing plants and the South is, and must remain, the world's greatest cotton-producing section.

Unfortunately, southern farmers have been extravagant in the use of labor. This has been true since the introduction of slave labor from Africa, and consequently southern farmers have been slow to adopt labor-saving methods and machinery, and slow to develop live-stock farming. In these the South has lagged behind other sections. This is illustrated by comparing Alabama and Iowa. Alabama is fairly representative of the cotton-producing States, while Iowa is frequently referred to as a State where farmers are using improved machinery and sufficient power and applying modern methods.

In area and population Alabama and Iowa are about equal, but the average Alabama farmer uses for all purposes only 38 acres, while the average Iowa farmer handles 160 acres. The average Alabama farmer uses only 1.5 work animals while the average Iowa farmer uses 8 work animals. In other words, the Alabama farmer uses, roughly, one-fifth as much power and farms one-fifth as much land. In 1922 the average gross income per Iowa farmer was four times that of the Alabama farmer.

No Farm-Labor Shortage in South

It can not be said that these wide differences in incomes of Alabama and Iowa farmers are due to power alone, but they are due largely to more power and more live-stock, enabling the farmer to utilize economically more land and in that way to increase production and income. Along with these go better methods and improvements along other lines.

It is made clear by the above figures that there is no farm-labor shortage in Alabama.



A NEGRO LAND-OWNER LIVES HERE. BY DIVERSIFYING HE RAISES A GOOD YIELD OF COTTON AND OTHER CROPS

(His sales from garden, cows, and chickens amount to from \$400 to \$600 annually. Ten of his fourteen children are living—two in Birmingham, one in Cleveland, and the others on the farm)

With an exception here and there the same is true for the South. As Professor Dan T. Gray, dean of the Alabama College of Agriculture and director of the Alabama Experiment Station, puts it: "There is no farm-labor shortage in Alabama as long as one man plows one mule." By this he means that one man should plow at least two mules, which only a few are doing in the South at present. This will reduce the labor requirements by half, and by using tractors and other improved farm machinery it can be reduced still further. With equal emphasis Professor Gray stresses the importance of raising more live-stock on southern farms.

The question here arises as to the feasibility of using greater power and more improved machinery as effectively in the production of cotton as in the production of corn, wheat, and other crops grown in Iowa. Cotton farmers may not be able to use such things as advantageously as grain farmers, but with the exception of chopping and picking they certainly can use them to much greater advantage than they are now doing. Under the stress of necessity, satisfactory machinery may be invented for chopping and picking cotton. But, granting that chopping and picking will never be done by machinery, what then will be the effect on cotton production?

This question is now being answered by Isham J. Dorsey, a farmer living at Opelika, Alabama. In 1920 Mr. Dorsey took charge of a farm on which six Negro tenants were living and operating six one-horse plows, farming a total of 100 acres. They produced each year about three bales of cotton to the plow, or 18 bales on the farm. At present Mr. Dorsey is operating this farm with three Negro tenants. For power they



AN ABANDONED FARM TENANT HOUSE

(There are tens of thousands of these vacant farmhouses in the South, and the number is increasing)



THIS MAN OWNS HIS FARM

(Cotton is his main crop, but he raises corn and other food and feed crops. He uses machinery like this in making them. His farm is paying, and he is satisfied in the South on his farm)

have two tractors and two mules. They have already harvested this year 3138 bushels of oats, and with average weather conditions they will make at least 20 bales of cotton. In other words, three tenants, two tractors, and two mules are making more cotton than was formerly made by six tenants and six mules, and in addition a bumper oat crop has already been harvested. Other food and feed crops are being raised in a small way.

Under the present plan the children on this farm assist with only the chopping and picking, which they have no difficulty in doing. Tenant homes are better than they were before Mr. Dorsey took charge, and the children have more time for school. Each tenant is required to make a garden and is allowed time to work it. All three tenants and their families are satisfied where they are, under their new conditions, because they are making a comfortable living in their present situation.

The Tenant Situation Will Improve

Mr. Dorsey is only one of many cotton farmers who are using labor efficiently. He is demonstrating that by the application of improved methods, and by the use of more power and improved machinery, each man can double his cotton production. Picking is doubtless the limiting factor, but the time is certainly far off when labor on the farms of the South will be insufficient to pick all the cotton that will bring a living price to the producer. This can be done in the presence of boll weevils. Therefore, no serious cotton shortage but a better farming system should be one result of the exodus of Negroes from the South.

Aside from a safer farming system and better rural conditions, an improvement of the tenant situation is expected to be another benefit to come from the Negro exodus. The percentage of all southern farmers who are tenants has steadily increased, and with this increase the destructive work of tenants has spread. Legions of gullied and soil-depleted fields are monuments to poorly supervised tenants, bad methods, and an improper

farming system in the South. The departure of so many Negro tenants, followed by closer supervision of all those who remain, will improve these conditions and increase incomes for all. This should increase farm ownership.

To use Alabama statistics again as illustrative of the South, the seriousness of the farm tenantry situation is revealed as follows: In 1880, 46.8 per cent. of all Alabama farmers were tenants; in 1890, 48.6 per cent.; in 1900, 57.7 per cent.; in 1910, 60.2 per cent.; in 1920, 57.9 per cent. Apparently the exodus prior to 1920 was sufficient to have some effect on reducing the percentage of tenants. In addition, southern farmers enjoyed an era of prosperity from 1917 to 1920 which enabled tenants to buy farms.

A Balanced Agriculture Needed

Negroes have also been a big factor in developing a lopsided agriculture in the South, which is being corrected. Cotton being the crop best suited to Negroes, its production was pushed largely to the exclusion of other crops until the ravages of the boll weevil and the influence of agricultural extension workers, under the Smith-Lever law, turned the tide toward a more wholesome system of farming. As a result of too much cotton for several decades, soil has become depleted of fertility and an extortionate credit system has developed. Fewer Negroes and tenants meant more diversification and, in time, richer land and less credit business.

One of the great burdens of southern agriculture is a wretched credit system, so burdensome as to prevent prosperity. A survey made by a leading southern farm

journal shows that the average difference between "cash" and "time" prices in the South is 70 per cent., a difference which no legitimate business can pay and prosper. By States it is: Alabama, 77 per cent.; Arkansas, 90 per cent.; Georgia, 68 per cent.; Mississippi, 68 per cent.; Louisiana, 60 per cent.; North Carolina, 62 per cent.; South Carolina, 73 per cent.; Tennessee, 65 per cent.; Texas, 81 per cent.; Virginia, 54 per cent. This is one of the greater of the minor causes of the exodus.

Diversification Will Help

More diversification, which will bring in money several times each year rather than once, as with cotton, will be helpful in putting farmers on a cash basis and destroying this credit system. A greater variety of crops and more live-stock will also distribute the labor needs throughout the year, which will enable farm laborers to work more and earn more each year, avoiding credit.

The coöperative marketing movement, which has already made great headway among cotton- and tobacco-growers in the South, promises much in the way of needed changes. It is well known that these coöperative marketing associations succeed best and accomplish most in the way of reforms when the membership consists of trained farmers who are land-owners.

While the expected changes are being made there must be many adjustments. Unless it is taken seriously and preparation made in advance, losses are bound to occur. Such have occurred already. The migra-

tion of Negro farmers who have lived in cabins, gone half-clad and poorly fed, to raise cotton, will make room for farmers of more intelligence who will not quit cotton but who will grow more grain crops, legumes, fruits, vegetables, and live-stock. With richer land, efficient methods, and more power, they will produce all the cotton that will bring a "living price," and enough of other crops and live-stock for home needs and a surplus for sale. Thus the South will become more self-supporting and reduce her importations of food and feed crops, which will have its effect on other agricultural sections.

Visualized by Grady

In brief, the Negro exodus means a new day for southern agriculture. Henry W. Grady visualized it forty years ago when he said: "When every farmer in the South shall eat bread from his own fields, and meat from his own pastures; and, disturbed by no creditor and enslaved by no debt, shall, amid his teeming orchards and gardens and vineyards and dairies and barnyards, pitch his crop in his own wisdom and grow it in independence, making cotton a clean surplus and selling it in his own chosen markets and not at a master's bidding, getting his pay in cash and not in a receipted mortgage that discharges his debt but does not restore his freedom—then shall be the breaking of the fullness of day."

Thus it appears that good, not bad, will come from the Negro exodus now in progress from southern farms.



OATS ON A COTTON FARM IN THE SOUTH

(With fewer laborers southern farmers will raise all the cotton they can gather and also food and feed crops where cotton previously grew)

EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT AS IT STANDS TO-DAY

BY W. R. BOYD

[Mr. Boyd, whose observations on prohibition and law enforcement we are publishing herewith, is a prominent citizen of Iowa. He is chairman of the Finance Committee of the State Board of Education, which holds a unified trusteeship of the State University at Iowa City, the Agricultural College at Ames, the Teachers' College at Cedar Falls, the College for the Blind at Vinton, and the School for the Deaf at Council Bluffs. He is a man of good judgment and broad views; and probably no one could better represent the sentiment of his region on a subject like prohibition. People in Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and eastern Pennsylvania, whose viewpoint is different, ought to be informed that, all the way from the Alleghenies to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Canadian line to the Gulf of Mexico, views like those expressed in this article (views which also are in accord with Mr. Harding's address at Denver, Colo., as quoted in our pages by Mr. Welliver last month) will be found overwhelmingly prevalent.—THE EDITOR]

WHAT I shall say under this caption may seem like a bundle of contradictions; but whoever describes the situation as it exists to-day, and seeks to point out what would seem to be the nation's duty in the premises, cannot hope to appear logical.

The Eighteenth Amendment, in my opinion, "came into this breathing world" before its time. Reformers are always impatient. They are so zealous for the event upon which their hearts are set that they are not willing to await the slow processes of time working under natural conditions. They prefer to have resort to a hot-house, forgetting that plants developed in a hot-house often perish in the open air.

It would have been better to wait longer. No decent person had any wish to defend the liquor traffic. The saloons had become an abomination, and this fact was being slowly but surely recognized everywhere. We had in America, however, a vast population—mostly foreign born—who had been brought up on spirituous and malt liquors, and who regarded a glass of beer or wine as we regard a cup of coffee or a pot of tea. Rightly or wrongly, we have permitted all of these people to vote. They hold the balance of power in many States, especially along the Atlantic seaboard. They had not been prepared for prohibition, but they might have been in, say, twenty-five years.

Moreover, it is at least a matter of doubtful wisdom to put a thing of this kind in the Constitution. But it *is* in the Constitution. Just what forces combined to cause three-fourths of the States to ratify the Eighteenth

Amendment, I do not pretend to say. It is easy to see how Iowa ratified it and other States in the Middle West and South; but how the legislatures of such States as Wisconsin, Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts came to ratify it is beyond comprehension. It is apparent now that a majority of the people in many States did not favor the Eighteenth Amendment, yet their respective legislatures ratified it with but few dissenting votes.

The lesson to be drawn from this is that we might do well to amend the Constitution in respect to the matter of *how* it shall be amended. I think it would be wise to submit proposed amendments directly to the people rather than to the legislatures. Not that I believe it is wise to submit many questions directly to the people, for they have neither the time nor the inclination to consider them; but they will consider vital matters such as the subject under consideration, and nothing short of a very vital matter should ever be thought of as an amendment to the Constitution. Organized minorities can and do intimidate legislative bodies.

Repeal Impossible

Having said this, it ought to be taken for granted that I approach the subject without prejudice. It would have been the part of wisdom, in my opinion, to have postponed national prohibition until the people of the entire country were more of one mind about it than they are now. But we did not do this. It is a part of the supreme law of the land, and we ought to look the facts

squarely in the face and govern ourselves accordingly.

What are these facts? First, we have the amendment, duly ratified. It will never be repealed. It is unthinkable that Congress could ever muster a two-thirds majority to re-submit the Amendment, or, if it should be re-submitted, that it would be repealed. Secondly, the promise held out that Congress can by law get around the amendment by enacting what is known as a "Wine and Beer" law, is a delusion. To promise such a thing is to offer a gold brick. The Eighteenth Amendment prohibits the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. Manifestly, intoxicating liquor is a liquor that will intoxicate. Light wines and beer will intoxicate, if one drinks enough of either of them. Therefore, the moment Congress passed a law the courts would be appealed to; and the courts could do nothing else but declare such a law unconstitutional.

These things being true, it follows, almost without argument, it seems to me, that there is but one thing left to be done, and that is to recognize these facts and proceed to enforce the law.

Fallacy in New York's Position

By the action of the New York legislature in repealing the State Enforcement Act, and the signing of that repeal by the Governor, with a labored defense of his action, a colossal issue has been raised—that this is purely a national matter and that the States have nothing to do with it. Some specious arguments are advanced to sustain this position, but they were all swept away by President Harding. He made it clear that for a State to insist on the enforcement of such a national law, unaided, is to abandon State Rights; he made it clear that to take such action in the name of State Rights is a fallacy. The amendment provides specifically for concurrent action.

For a State to do as New York has done, namely, refuse to take concurrent action, can mean, as President Harding pointed out, but one thing—sending into such a State a veritable army of federal officials whose activities can only emphasize, and as a matter of fact over-emphasize, the supremacy of the federal government.

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments

Another fallacy that is being worked overtime is the so-called parallel between the non-enforcement of the Fourteenth and

Fifteenth Amendments in the South and State nullification of the Eighteenth Amendment. At first blush, this argument seems plausible, but when all the facts are considered the case does not constitute a parallel at all. That the Negro should never have been granted the right of suffrage, without certain limitations, is now generally acknowledged.

Then was the time when wisdom would have dictated an amendment to the Constitution which would have set up an intelligence test for suffrage, applicable to blacks and whites alike. We were governed by passion rather than reason at that time, however, and so we admitted to suffrage, without giving them any time to qualify, a race which had been centuries in bondage and which was ignorant to the last degree. Numerically they were strong. For a time we enforced the terms of that amendment in Southern States at the point of the bayonet. Gradually we recognized the injustice of it and gave up the attempt, and to-day the nullification of the Fifteenth Amendment, south of the Mason and Dixon line, is acquiesced in, practically without protest.

Ignoring the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment by common consent is not as justifiable; for by the terms of the Fourteenth Amendment it is provided that where States abridge the right of citizenship, their representation in Congress and in the Electoral College shall be reduced accordingly. This would follow as a matter of course if the States should abridge these rights directly and openly. They have abridged them effectively, but not by due process of law. By every rule of right and justice their representation ought to be reduced; but here again there seems to be practical unanimity in permitting them to do indirectly what they are forbidden to do directly.

No such condition of public feeling exists in regard to the Eighteenth Amendment. Everywhere there is at least a powerful minority in favor of rigid enforcement of the law, and in most States a pronounced majority. If it should come about in the course of time (which it never will), that there is a unanimity of sentiment in favor of ignoring the Eighteenth Amendment as there is in favor of ignoring the Fifteenth Amendment so far as the South is concerned—then we should have an unrestricted liquor traffic in violation of the fundamental law of the land, in many

portions of the country; and there would be another significant warning that we should never put into that fundamental law anything which the considerate judgment of the people, over a long period, will not sustain.

No One Wants the Saloon Back

It has been my endeavor, thus far, to set forth the facts in this complicated situation exactly as they are. If I have not succeeded it is because my own vision is not clear. If the facts are as I have sought to state them, we shall only waste time and bring about endless trouble and confusion if we do not proceed to act upon them. I have yet to hear of anyone who says he wants to see the saloon reinstated in any portion of the land. Even the Governor of New York says he does not wish to see it reinstated. If we had light wines and beer, it seems to me that the saloon would follow as a matter of course. It would also follow that stronger liquors, whatever we might call them, would be served in the places where light wines and beer were sold. It is notorious that those engaged in the liquor traffic have no respect for law. If the distillers and brewers and saloon-keepers had shown a decent respect for law, if they had obeyed the wholesome regulations that law-making bodies sought to throw around the liquor traffic, prohibition could never have been put over. But I think it may be said without fear of contradiction that no law in restraint of the liquor traffic was ever put upon the statute books of any State which the liquor men did not flaunt and violate and spit upon, and they would do it again.

We had a wine and beer law in Iowa forty-odd years ago. It was violated in every so-called "beer saloon" in the State.

I think it will be conceded that in a considerable portion of the country, perhaps in every portion of the country, prohibition—even though it may have come before its time—has done good. I confess that it is being violated practically everywhere, in greater or less degree, but there is more food in the cupboards of families dependent upon the labor of the head of the house for support than ever before; better clothes are upon the backs of the women and children; more furniture is in the houses and there are more comforts all along the line, even in the tenement districts of New York and Chicago. The enemies of prohibition might just as well

make up their minds, now as later, that they are not going to get rid of it. They are not even going to get light wines and beer. They might as well bow to the inevitable first as last.

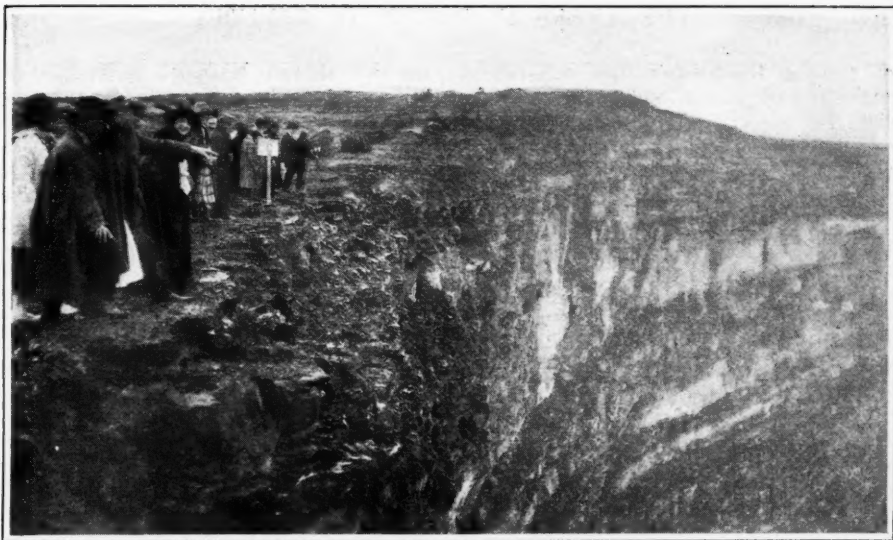
What Should Be Done by Congress

Two things should be done, however:

(1) The Volstead Act should be so modified as to remove the possibility of friction with foreign governments. To permit foreign ships to bring in a reasonable supply of intoxicants within the three-mile limit, under seal, will in no way interfere with the enforcement of our domestic regulations. If it gives ocean liners flying a foreign flag an advantage over our own ocean-going vessels, that is the price we would pay for having what we want—or what we think we want. (2) Congress should also provide a method whereby liquor, for legitimate use, could be obtained through governmental agencies without making an honest man feel as though he were at once a supplicant and a criminal. Congressmen and Senators, if they would put it to a test, would always find themselves sustained in telling cranks of every kind that reason, not fanaticism, should be the rule and guide in legislation.

As to those who would compromise further, they might as well give up that hope. There is no additional compromise possible here in America. Why waste time, therefore, in talking about anything but the strict enforcement of the law?

It is my earnest hope that people will see this thing as it is; that they will quit talking about compromise where there can be no compromise, modification where there can be no modification. Newspapers which lend themselves to the cultivation of this false hope are in mighty small business. Nothing is to be gained by permitting this thing to be an issue in our politics. If there were any hope of arriving at any conclusion other than the one already arrived at, there might be some excuse for it, but there is no hope. The only thing to do, therefore, is to proceed to the strict enforcement of the law; and in this enforcement the States should coöperate with the federal government. If this shall be our policy, then twenty-five or thirty years from now we shall have a generation which knows not the saloon and, knowing it not, except by hearsay, will no longer clamor for even so much as light wines and beer.



TOURISTS LOOKING DOWN INTO HALEMAUMAU, THE LAKE OF EVERLASTING FIRE AND THE ACTIVE PART OF KILAUEA VOLCANO

(The lava bed is encircled by bluffs 500 feet in height and eight miles around. The crater itself is 4000 feet above the sea, only thirty miles away)

HAWAII NATIONAL PARK

BY WILLIAM I. COLE

TO GET the right start for his history of New York, Father Knickerbocker felt that he should go back to creation. The city whose glories he was about to chronicle seemed to him to be rooted in the primeval chaos. With greater reason one undertaking to write on the Hawaii National Park, the latest comer in our constantly enlarging group of national parks¹, might go back to creation for a proper beginning. In one respect, moreover, he would have a decided advantage over Father Knickerbocker—he would not have so far to go. Creation would meet him more than halfway. At two points at least it would come up to his very feet.

Stand with me on the edge of the inner crater, or pit, of Kilauea, one of the three volcanoes within the limits of the Park, and look down. Below, as in a vast cauldron, is a seething, boiling, spouting mass of molten lava. A slight crust forms on the surface. Instantly this is shattered by a mighty up-heaving from below. In its break-

ing up, cracks run across it in every direction like so many zigzag lines of lightning. The tossing fragments of what was a moment before a hardening crust sink down and vanish. In their places appear fountains of liquid fire spurting upward often to a height of half a hundred feet. Again a slight crust forms, and the same round of phenomena is repeated. Is it not creation that we see, the processes by which the mountains were brought forth and even the earth and the world were formed?

Come with me now to certain steaming fissures or chambers in the hardened lava around. We shall find them near at hand. Notice, if you will, the greenish, slimy moss in patches here and there on the walls of these recesses—the blue-green algæ of the botanists, the “contemporary ancestors” of all living plants and trees. When the command went forth, “Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit,” the blue-green algæ were the first to appear. Here, again, are we not face to face with creation?

In the inclusion within its boundaries of three separate and distinct volcanoes, each

¹ The Hawaii National Park, although created by act of Congress in 1916, was not actually taken in charge by the Federal Government until the spring of 1922, when the first superintendent was appointed.

of them a top-notch, this our newest national park stands quite apart from its eighteen associates. Mauna Loa, the mightiest of the three, and intermittently active, lifts its huge mass 14,000 feet into the air. Viewed from a distance, it looks not unlike a mammoth tortoise lying along the horizon. Haleakala, the second in magnitude, sustains at an elevation of 10,000 feet a crater, now extinct, of such vast proportions that a city as large as Philadelphia could be built within and there would still be ample room for suburbs. And Kilauea, although a pigmy when compared with the other two, would nevertheless overtop Vesuvius were the two side by side, while its crater is the largest continuously active crater in the world.

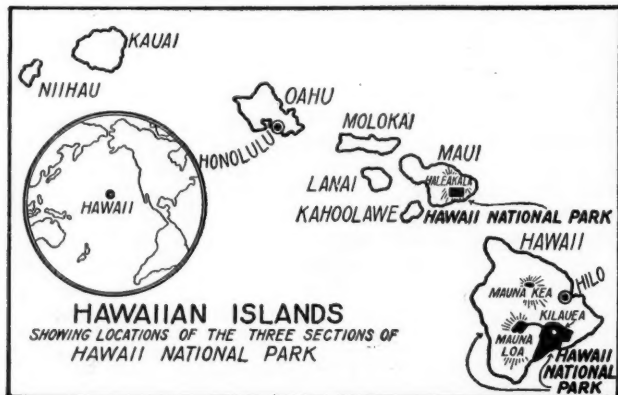
To be sure, the presence of three such volcanoes in one and the same park is due to a sort of gerrymander in the laying out of the park; for the volcanoes are at long distances from each other and one is separated from the other two by miles of ocean. To get them all in without making a park of practically impossible extent and compelling it to cross water, the device was resorted to of a park in three sections, each section to include one of the volcanoes. Two of these sections, those of Mauna Loa and Kilauea, are on the Island of Hawaii, and one, that of Haleakala, is on the Island of Maui. To the Kilauea section there has recently been added the adjoining Kau Desert, extending down to the ocean, a vast tract of old lava flows, earthquake cracks, extinct craters, and lava cones. The combined areas of the three sections approximate one hundred and seventy square miles, all of volcanic origin and character.

Of the three sections which together make

up the Hawaii National Park, that of Kilauea is the largest and by far the most important. It is also the most accessible and the only one in which there are hotels. Of the nearly thirty thousand visitors to the Park last year, practically all came here. The way up from Hilo, the principal starting point from the coast and the largest town on the Island of Hawaii, is an excellent introduction. For the entire distance of thirty miles, the well-built road climbs gradually but steadily through the most varied and striking scenery of extensive sugar-cane plantations, quaint villages, and tropical forests. As you reach the higher elevations, the tree-ferns become more and more conspicuous, towering often to a height of forty feet, with fronds more than half as many feet long. The last few miles the road runs through a veritable forest of them. As you ascend, Mauna Loa slowly lifts itself above the distant horizon directly ahead. Aptly is it named "The Long Mountain."

Here, as in the other two sections of the Park, the crater is the thing. Let us stand on the veranda of the Volcano House, which almost overhangs the crater of Kilauea, and watch the visitors as they start out for the first time "for to wonder and for to see." Invariably they are drawn as by invisible chains to the mighty bowl there at our feet, not only to its brink but down into its depths. And no wonder! It is a bowl more than eight miles around and so deep that Bunker Hill Monument, were it built within, would hardly reach the top where the rim is the lowest and would stop less than halfway up where it is the highest. From where we stand, its bottom of hardened lava stretches away seemingly as level and smooth as a floor. Part way across, a column of "the vapor of smoke" rises high in the air—the pit upon whose edge we have already stood.

But the crater is not the whole thing, either here or elsewhere in the Park. It shares the attention of the visitor with many another wonder, great and small—steaming cracks in the earth; beds of sulphur sending up wisps of choking vapor; lava tubes, underground





CINDER CONES IN THE CRATER OF HALEAKALA, THE LARGEST EXTINCT VOLCANO IN THE WORLD AND PART OF HAWAII NATIONAL PARK

(The area of this crater, 10,000 feet above sea level, is estimated to be larger than that of the city of Philadelphia)

tunnel-like passages, some of them miles in length, through which once flowed streams of burning lava; tree molds, the lava matrices, as it were, of dead and gone trees; forests of tree ferns; forests of koa trees, whose wood is highly valued by cabinet-makers; natural bird sanctuaries where rare and beautiful birds may be seen; and, of course, dead craters of all sizes, shapes, and ages, ranging from ragged gashes in the earth of untold depth, from which one draws shudderingly back, to vast, deep, symmetrical hollows with forest-clad sides, and shallow depressions filled with luxuriant tropical growths like sunken gardens. Nearly three-score of these once active craters are to be found here. In the Kau district there is also an unique and interesting desert flora.

However, the crater of Kilauea always holds the center of the stage. It is ever and always in the spotlight, whether or not illumined by the glare of its nether fires. Quiescent or in the convulsive throes of eruption, it is still the supreme wonder in this land of wonders.

Advisedly I have said, "quiescent or in the throes of convulsion"; for the crater of

Kilauea—and by the crater I mean particularly the inner crater or pit—is seldom the same two days in succession, much less two successive seasons. At times the burning lava disappears altogether. When I visited the pit for the second time last summer, after an interval of several years, I hardly knew it. Where had been, on my first visit, a boiling fiery lake, sulphurous vapors were swirling around and streaming upward in a thin column. There was no gleam of molten lava anywhere in the cavernous depths. The opening itself had changed almost beyond my recognition. In place of the cauldron-like aperture that I recalled, was an enormous, irregular rent, or rather three such rents, more or less connected.

Terrific events had taken place here since my first visit. The fiery lava, which at that time had held me spell-bound by its awful fascination, had rushed up, filling the pit to the brim and, overflowing its edges, spread out in all directions over the floor of the larger crater. It became an ever-widening mass of heaving and tossing waves, rent repeatedly by deafening explosions

which tore great openings where none had been before. Then as rapidly as it had risen it began to go down, and finally disappeared altogether even from the lowest reaches of the pit to which the eye could penetrate. But once more the tide has turned, and the glowing hot lava has again appeared in the pit. Says Professor Jaggar, the director of the Hawaiian Volcano Observatory, whose low buildings touch elbows with the Volcano House, "Volcanoes are not clocks: they do not run on schedule; but the Kilauea Volcano and its neighborhood have followed an accountable law during the last decade." Hence, dormant as the crater of Kilauea may appear at times, it is never inactive. Somewhere below the fires are still raging. Red lava days of the brightest hue are always in store for this volcano!

The summit crater of Mauna Loa, like many a flower, is born to blush, or rather to burst into activity, unseen; for, in the present undeveloped state of the Mauna Loa section of the Park, the ascent is an arduous undertaking. Two or three days of riding and hiking are required for it, if you

start from the Volcano House. A rest-house, at an elevation of ten thousand feet, offers the nearest approach, anywhere along the way, to the conveniences and comforts of an hotel. Fortunately, there is a good trail.

When this crater bestirs itself, about every decade, its activities are on a gigantic scale, and even in their later stages, after the arrival of the breathless observer, are surpassingly spectacular. Mauna Loa possesses, also, well-nigh numberless subsidiary craters, each one a possible source of destructive energy. From one of these smaller craters, a mere dome on the side of the mountain, burst forth, in 1880, a flow of lava which ran for months, finally stopping almost within a stone's throw of Hilo. From another, as recently as 1919, a flow broke out and ran on week after week, licking up every combustible thing in its path, until it poured itself, a river of fire, into the ocean. Mauna Loa possesses the fascinating interest of being a mountain still in the making, an unfinished piece of creation.

To go from Kilauea and Mauna Loa to Haleakala is like exchanging a land of perpetual turmoil or of perpetually threatened turmoil for a land of unbroken calm. At Haleakala nothing happens. Nothing has happened for two hundred years. All is dead.

Like the summit crater of Mauna Loa, that of Haleakala is reached by road and trail. At Olinda, to which you have come by automobile, you take saddle horses for the remaining six thousand feet of the climb, "a continuous panorama of glories, far and near." At the summit you will find a small but well-equipped rest-house, where you may spend the night.

Here at the summit the crater lies spread out before you, an oblong, irregular opening, two miles and more across in one direction and seven or eight in another and two thousand feet deep. A walk of twenty miles would barely take you around it, even if you kept to the rim all the way. Notice the cinder cones that dot its bottom, looking from where you stand little larger than ant hills. In reality, the smallest of them would measure nearly six hundred feet from base to peak. The whole scene calls up visions of "a grand and awful time" that staggers the imagination. May not the transcendent gorgeousness of the sunrises and sunsets as seen from Haleakala be, after all, more or less reflections from



THE ROAD TO MAUNA LOA VOLCANO WINDS THROUGH A FOREST OF FERNS, MANY OF THEM FORTY FEET HIGH

that time, "trailing clouds of glory," as it were, left behind?

The Hawaii National Park is replete with human associations. It is the land of legend and myth, of history and romance. In the Kau Desert, strange pictures, chiefly of men, rudely drawn upon the rocks, and fossil human foot-prints in the hardened rock tell of a long vanished people. Here, also, what are presumably burial mounds await the archaeologist; and rocky caves, which possibly were used for burial purposes, still keep their secret and may continue to keep it until such time as the mountains shall give up their dead. The pit of Kilauea is Halemaumau, the "House of Everlasting Fire." Here, according to belief obtaining widely even to-day among the Hawaiians, Pele, the Goddess of Fire, makes her home with her numerous brothers and sisters. To the music of the roaring and crackling flames, you will be told, these children of Kane, the "father of the gods," whirl madly in the dance. The tufts of finely spun glass blowing about are "Pele's hair." When the molten lava disappears from the pit, Pele has gone visiting to some other volcano by underground passages.

The halting of the lava flow of 1880 within a short distance of Hilo is explained as the personal act of Pele through the intercession of a royal princess of Hawaii. With

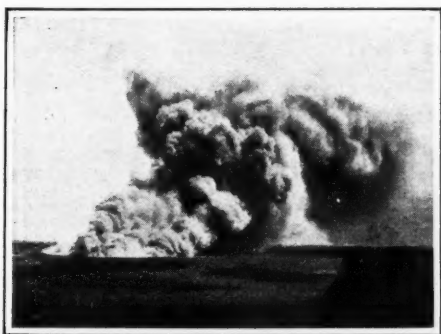


THE ACTIVE PORTION OF KILAUEA CRATER
(This is the pit of Halemaumau, a lake of fire 2000 feet across)

strange words of appeal, her royal highness, who had been brought to Halemaumau with no little difficulty because of her great weight, addressed herself to Pele, accompanying her words with gifts—a pig, a white hen, and a bottle of gin—which she threw into the pit. There were no Eighteenth Amendment and Volstead Act in those days. The culminating scene of the "Bird of Paradise," that popular play of native life in the Hawaiian Islands, is laid at the brink of Halemaumau. The heart-broken heroine has heard the call of Pele, and obedient to it throws herself into the glowing pit.

As a health resort and playground, the Hawaii National Park will always make its most popular appeal. The comparatively low temperature here, because of its elevation, affords a most grateful change from the heat elsewhere in the Hawaiian Islands. When you are "all dressed up" for hiking or driving, for scrambling up or down some crater, you will never have "nowhere to go." In the Kilauea section alone there are twenty miles of trails, trails suited to every sort and kind of trampers irrespective of age, sex, or former manner of life. Here "living upon a volcano" has a new meaning. It is without suggestion of impending, sudden disaster, and connotes merely joyous adventure in friendly contact with primeval nature.

To the scientist the Park will appeal more and more as an exceptionally promising field for scientific observation and research. For a number of years the Hawaiian Volcano Observatory under the direction of Prof. T. A. Jaggar, Jr., has used it as a great



DUST CLOUDS AT KILAUEA VOLCANO

(These clouds are caused by avalanches within the crater, which follow a lowering of the level of the boiling lava bed)

out-of-doors laboratory. Here the processes of the earth are studied much as the meteorologist studies the processes of the upper air. A seismograph, installed in one of its little group of buildings perched on the edge of the crater of Kilauea, registers all volcanic disturbances. Pele's moods, whims, caprices, tantrums, and orderly behavior alike are watched and duly recorded. As the result of this work, Prof. Jaggar and his associates have made important contributions to our knowledge of such subjects as the meaning of geologic time and, especially, the "theory and practice" of volcanoes.

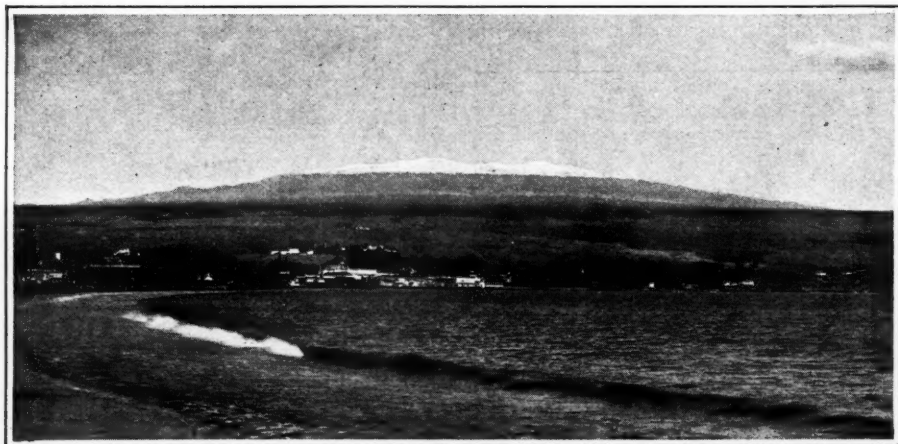
The Hawaii National Park cannot be described in terms of measurement—areas, heights, depths, and circumferences, impressive as these are. Nor can it be described in terms of its wonders, manifold as these are and of surpassing interest, loveliness, and grandeur. It is more than the sum of all its parts. Behind the things that are seen, and to which the things that are seen bear awe-inspiring witness, are primitive, elemental forces. Pele dwelling in the fires of Halemaumau, which she herself has kindled, personifies the pervasive, throbbing energy that is felt here, at times almost overwhelmingly. Is it wholly surprising, therefore, that at the dedication of the Park in July, 1921, an Hawaiian should have surreptitiously thrown into the fiery depths of Halemaumau a garland of flowers as a propitiatory offering? The Hawaii National Park is a stage upon which a goddess has always appeared in the leading rôle. Play-

ground and laboratory as it is to-day, it is a playground where the joy of the sport is shot through with feelings of reverence and awe, and a laboratory where the investigator bows his head.

Vividly do I recall the picture presented by Halemaumau when I saw it for the last time during my earlier visit. It was a late hour of a clear moonlight night. The intense light of the tossing, fiery mass below illumined the sides of the pit with a dazzling glow, and was brilliantly reflected in the sky above. Over against where I stood Mauna Loa rose solemn and majestic in the distance. There was a high wind, which in fitful gusts now enfolded me for a moment in the dense choking vapors from below and now swept them aside, leaving the view open and clear. In contrast with the charm of the night and the repose of the distant mountain was the turbulence of the lake of fire below and the lurid glow above. Heaven and hell both lay about me!

Visit the Hawaii National Park once, and you will want to visit it again. The resources of this great wonderland for recreation and enjoyment are well-nigh inexhaustible. But often as you may come, and whichever of the three sections you may visit, you will hasten on each arrival to pay your respects first of all to that wonder which is the thing. You will be like those college graduates of whom the class poet sang. Although they had been thrown out by their Alma Mater, yet, like volcanic stones, they must drop in again,

"To see the dear old crater!"



THE SNOW-CAPPED SUMMIT OF MAUNA KEA, 14,000 FEET HIGH, AS SEEN FROM HILO BAY

THE NEWER JUSTICE

BY GEORGE GORDON BATTLE

[The author of this article is a distinguished member of the bar of New York City, with more than thirty years' experience in both the prosecution and the defense of those charged with crime. His deep interest in probation work—he is treasurer of the National Probation Association—suggested the accompanying article.—THE EDITOR]

“ONE nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all”—I had just been thrilled by hearing a great body of school children, their fresh young voices blending in perfect unison, pledge their allegiance in these words to America's flag and to the Republic for which it stands. Then our national anthem was sung with that pure and fervent patriotism that belongs peculiarly to childhood.

I went away, but somehow I could not forget those last impressive words—“liberty and justice for all.” They represent a great ideal, the essence of our American gospel of equality and a square deal, but in practice how far we are from the realization of this ideal! That would mean, I thought, that every child would have a decent home, a fitting education, a chance for health, happiness, and the good things of life; it would mean that all this poverty, human misery, and crime (which so many choose to forget) would be prevented. Or if that cannot be as yet, it means, at any rate, that America is pledged to treat every unfortunate, yes, and every delinquent member of her great family, with real, understanding justice.

No Justice without Understanding

Then I thought of the wrongs of childhood, the miserable homes into which so many are born, the hard industrial and living conditions which destroy homes, the inadequacy of our schools and of our courts to protect or save the child from adverse conditions until many times it is too late. I thought of our criminal courts. How archaic they frequently are in procedure and equipment! Although administered usually by kind and upright judges, too often they are handicapped by a rigid penal law and practice that cannot do justice, because there can be no justice without understanding. I thought of the evils of

our police systems, of our wretched jails (those breeding spots of crime), of our prison system which ever needs reformation. Sometimes it seems as if those most in need of justice get least of it.

I had just been reading the story of Martin Tabert, whose case, because of its tragic ending, has been investigated by the legislatures of two States. Martin, a farmer boy of 22, left his comfortable and respectable home in North Dakota on a trip to see the world, as many another young adventurer has done. After some months, working his way, he reached Florida in the winter of 1921-22 and, finding nothing to do in that dull season, speedily became penniless. Searching for work, he boarded a freight train in order to reach another town, and was arrested for the heinous crime of stealing a ride. He was thrown into jail and in due time was brought before the local judge, convicted, and sentenced to pay a fine of \$25 or to serve 90 days. There was no consideration of his condition, no investigation of his character or past record, no communication with his family in the North, although they afterward showed great anxiety to stand by and help him. Under the convict-leasing system which prevailed in Florida, as in too many other States, he was immediately shipped to a prison camp to serve his time at hard labor. His treatment in this contract labor camp is a painful story. It was testified that, although ill, he received no care; and it is claimed that a brutal beating at the hand of a whipping boss contributed in large measure to his death, which occurred in the camp shortly thereafter.

Was this an unusual case, in no way typical of our American system of justice? I knew it was not. It is true that contract labor in or outside the prison has been done away with in a majority of our States; but is not a sentence to the ordinary jail, with

its bad food and insanitary conditions, evil associates, and corrupting idleness, as bad as enforced labor in the open? And the worst thing about it is the failure of the law in many courts to provide means for ascertaining the true character and past good record of a boy like that! There are, however, fortunately, other courts where such means are provided.

Value of the Juvenile Court

After thus dwelling on our national failures, my thoughts began to take a more hopeful turn. This Tabert case, thought I, could not have occurred in many of our States. That poor boy would not have remained in jail, to say nothing of being sent away to a convict camp, in some States. Understanding justice is being administered in an ever-increasing number of our courts. America is interested in justice. Has she not contributed two of the finest instruments for understanding justice that the world has ever seen—the juvenile court and the probation system?

I recalled that the juvenile court, first established in Chicago only twenty-four years ago, can be found to-day in practically all of our larger cities, and is now being extended to rural districts. In many communities it stands as the leading agency directly representing the public interest in protecting the child from the evils of a bad environment, unfit parents, or no living parents. More than that, through sympathetic, carefully selected judges, with the aid of expert physicians attached to the court—and, most important of all, through a staff of probation officers working directly with the homes and the children—the juvenile court at its best is a great educational agency to give understanding guidance to every child and family whose difficulties cannot be solved or prevented by other agencies in society.

Through this court I see the State exercising its ultimate parental power. It rights the wrongs of childhood and youth. It keeps the child in its own home, if that home can be made good. When that cannot be accomplished, the court helps to find a new home—not, if it can be prevented, in an institution, for that can never be a real home for a child, however indispensable as a temporary expedient.

America, I reflected, by establishing the juvenile court, has shown the way by which we may assure protection and guidance to

every child. It has modified, yes, revolutionized the old system of *injustice* which treated the child as a criminal to be punished, associating him with adult offenders in courts and jails.

The Probation System

But has not America done an even greater thing? Through the probation system, which from the start has not been confined to children, it has shown the way to socialize, to humanize, and to make efficient our system of adult criminal justice as well. The methods that have been established in the juvenile court—social investigation and study of each person before the court, placing the offender on probation, in suitable cases, with strict conditions and under the supervision and helpful guidance of the probation officer—these have been extended to all courts in some of our States, and the results have been highly satisfactory. In courts having probation, the bandages have been taken from the eyes of Justice and she now sees clearly, having learned that equal justice cannot be administered without knowledge and that with true knowledge there must be sympathy.

If the Tabert boy, I thought, had come into one of our courts where the probation system is well established, what would have happened? In the first place, there would have been an investigation by the probation officer. It would have been the duty of the officer to communicate with the parents and friends of the boy in the North. His character and his physical and mental condition would have been ascertained. After this, had a fine been imposed, he would have been given an opportunity to secure the money from his friends, or, failing that, he would undoubtedly have been placed on probation and given a chance to earn the money, paying it off in instalments. Beside these elementary requirements of justice, it would have been the duty of the probation officer to assist the boy in getting his job, in finding a suitable place to live in, or else in getting back to his home. Even more important than this practical help and guidance would have been the kindly influence and encouragement of a friend.

Placed on Honor, But Guided

I remembered how fast this work of probation in our courts is developing. Rightly administered, it means justice, no more, no less. These probation officers are getting

the important social facts when they are most needed, through their investigations of the home and environment, ascertaining the past record and character. Through the court clinic, the physical and mental condition is ascertained. Then and not before is the court ready to decide on the best treatment in each case. In nearly 50 per cent. of the cases in well organized courts, supervision and guidance by a probation officer over an extended period of adjustment has proved the best method for reclaiming the offender and protecting society as well. The delinquent is placed on his honor, but with a thorough system of checking up through visits and reports. In more than one State, I know, approximately 80 per cent. of those so treated have succeeded, according to statistics.

We shall never reach the American ideal of justice for all by condemning our entire judicial system, as some are doing, because of its many failures, nor yet by too great optimism because of the promising advances in many of our States. It is true of America to-day that our ideals in this matter are ahead of our practice. This is shown, for instance, by the fact that laws establishing juvenile courts and probation systems have been enacted in many of our States, in fact in almost all of them, but in too many States they have not been enforced or have been ill administered. This is due to lack of public interest, official inertia, ultra-conservatism, and failure to realize that the employment of good probation officers is an excellent economy. We know that the population of prisons and reformatories has been reduced wherever good probation work has been established.

Still Room for Progress

Well-equipped juvenile courts are found chiefly in our largest cities. The child in the small city and rural community is not yet protected. The Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, in a study of the entire country, found in one year that 175,000 children's cases were being disposed of by the courts of the country. Less than half of these courts had probation officers or other elements of well-equipped juvenile courts.

And what shall we say of our adult courts? Only one State, Massachusetts, which was the pioneer in probation, has equipped all of its courts with probation officers. About a dozen other States may be

said to have fairly well equipped probation service, at least in their larger courts. In the rest of the country probation work is on the way but has not yet arrived. Many judges are handicapped by having to call on volunteers for this work who cannot be depended upon. The judges themselves, in some cases, have not awakened to their opportunity nor sought to administer understanding justice rather than the stereotyped variety which takes no account of the individual needs and varying responsibilities of the offender, and ignores entirely the vital family problems involved in each case.

A National Organization at Work

Probation work, to be thoroughly effective, must be administered by specially trained and carefully selected officers, men and women, in every court. The work is not for amateurs. The probation system should be under State supervision. Workers in this field should be organized in every State and in the nation for the interchange of information and services. The problem of crime and delinquency is not local and knows no State bounds. In only a few States has such organization been effected.

There has been established in recent years a national organization which is seeking to represent the interest of those who believe in equipping our courts, *all of them*, with the machinery which they need to do their work socially and humanely. This is the National Probation Association. Its objects are to extend juvenile courts and good probation work to all parts of the country, to arouse public interest therein, and to develop better standards. Leading judges of juvenile and other courts, prominent lawyers, and citizens are associated upon its board of directors. It is a meeting ground where officials charged with the enforcement of the law and public-spirited people who would advance social justice in the courts can coöperate. Its sponsors believe that by developing a large body of interested citizens, who not only sympathize but have joined together to further this cause by the written and spoken word, by local surveys and campaigns, and in other ways, there will result general knowledge and support for the socially equipped court; and thus shall America advance rapidly and still more rapidly toward the newer justice and the American ideal of justice effective for all.

FOR BETTER PRISONS

[The Editor has received the following communication from Mr. Adolph Lewisohn, President of the Prison Survey Committee of New York State. Mr. Lewisohn has been for many years interested in the improvement of our prisons, and has given much thought to the subject. His conclusions deserve the consideration of prison reformers everywhere.—THE EDITOR]

EDITOR OF THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS:

In the May issue of your magazine there are two articles particularly interesting to me—"Rational Crime Treatment," by Charles L. Chute, and "Women and the Prisons," by Marjorie Shuler.

I entirely approve of both articles and agree with the conclusions arrived at by the writers. The article, "Women and the Prisons," deals with the campaign under the direction of Miss Julia K. Jaffray, chairman of the Committee on Institutional Relations of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Miss Jaffray is also secretary of the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor, of which I am president, and so is associated with me in this work. The conclusions reached in the article are in part the conclusions formed by our National Committee after carefully studying and actively working in these matters a great many years. We all agree that it is of the greatest importance that the small county jail should be abolished. It is fortunate indeed that the women now have a vote and are taking a more active part in this work and will help us to clean up the jails. The National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor has an active sub-committee, of which Hon. George W. Wickersham is chairman, which is working for the improvement of the jails and for the abolition of many of them in the State of New York, and I hope we shall succeed in effecting great improvement in this direction.

The article, "Rational Crime Treatment," treating mainly of the question of probation, is most excellent and timely. Probation wherever it is practicable is much better than imprisonment. I personally for many years have also been working in the direction of decreasing the number of dependent children in institutions by remunerating widowed mothers so as to help them take care of their children at home, instead of placing them in institutions. Where, however, that is impracticable, dependent

children should be boarded out in good families under proper supervision where they can be taken care of under home influences, or where possible, have them adopted by foster parents who have no children of their own.

But all this can be only of gradual benefit. Even if we do our utmost to help probation and parole work, we shall still need prisons for many years to come. In the interest of this important part of the public welfare and of the general community we must not let the proper care and direction of the prisons and prisoners drift out of sight, because of our working for probation and parole, which as I said before can necessarily be only a gradual process, and for generations, perhaps for centuries, will not absolutely eliminate the necessity of prisons.

Prevention of crime is greatly helped by the improvement brought about by education. We can all do our part to help reduce crime by setting a good example, leading clean lives, giving service.

I do not believe that ill treatment of the prisoner or torturing him is necessary as a deterrent. It has been used thousands of years and has not stopped or diminished crime. On the contrary, it will harden the prisoner and is apt to make him revengeful and worse than before. There is one deterrent that is of particular importance, and that is, swift and sure justice. The prisoner should know that if he commits a crime it is very likely that he will be caught and will go to prison, and that there will be very little delay about it.

In order to bring about good conditions in prisons, the first essential is that the administration and those in charge of the prisons, and officials high and low, wardens, keepers or whatever may be their titles, shall be high-grade men of good reputation and character and shall receive fair remuneration for their services, and to have it understood that it is an honorable office if they do their work right. These officials,

should receive instruction how to handle the subject, to qualify them for their important duties. Brutality and the exploitation of the prisoner should cease. It should be well understood that the administration wants to help the prisoner to reform and go out of prison a better person than when he went in. Cleanliness, proper care of health, necessary exercise and recreation, are imperative, but the prisoners should also be required to do a fair day's work and be employed at such work as they are fitted for and that will be useful to them when they go out of prison, so that they will likely be able to take care of themselves and their families after their discharge, and not spread disease mental or physical. For their labor they should receive fair remuneration, and for particularly good work they should be rewarded. Part of the wages earned should be used for their maintenance and part for their dependents.

The prison administration, the wardens, keepers, etc., should set a high example of honesty and fairness. No good can possibly be accomplished if the prisoners see that those in charge of the prisons are dishonest and unjust, or if those placed over them are inferior. The prisons should, of course, be entirely taken out of politics. The education of the prisoner both in the work which he is to perform and generally with the view of improving him, is most important and there should be the spirit of coöperation all around.

I think everybody will agree that the prisoner upon entering the prison or reformatory should be thoroughly examined as to his mental and physical state, and his treatment and the work assigned to him determined accordingly. There should, of course, be a competent medical staff and the right type of religious representative—the latter not only able to conduct services and carry out religious formalities, but to take a personal interest in the prisoner and help him to improve himself in a spiritual way.

I do not lay so much stress upon looking after the prisoners after their discharge, but rather upon giving them the right opportunities in prison education and training in the kind of work that will be of use to them when they go out and enable them to make a livelihood for themselves and their families in an honorable way. Given such opportunities in prison, the chances are that a great many of them will go straight—not all, of course, as earlier habits and conditions may be too strong for some of them to overcome.

Parole and probation are very good things, and the difficulty of the prisoner getting employment on account of the prejudice of a large part of the public is to be dealt with, but at the same time if the prisoner learns a trade and has good education, he is very likely to be able to help himself.

We should overcome the inclination to harbor bitterness toward the prisoner, and on the other hand should avoid extreme sentimentality toward him. Both are harmful to the prisoners as well as to the general community.

It is well to bear in mind that we must not expect ideal conditions. The subject is one of the most difficult, and as no two persons are alike in every respect, general principles do not apply. We are either too severe or too lenient. The same applies to the education of children though not in the same measure. The effect of treatment works very differently on different persons. There are some principles, however, that can be definitely applied in all cases:

The proper examination of the prisoner both as to his physical and mental condition, and of his early history to determine if the causes of the crime can be established;

The choosing of honest and able wardens, keepers and other officials, and the recognition by the public of the importance of their positions, credit to be given them when they deserve it;

People of good standing in the community to interest themselves in the matter;

To keep the criminal well occupied with the kind of work that he can well perform, taking into consideration his health and ability, also the kind of work which will be useful to him after his discharge;

Also to add to his education, not overdoing it but using some part of his time for education in various branches.

In order to make such principles effective, especially in regard to the employment of the prisoner, and giving him remuneration, every State should appoint a good industrial head so that he can make a success of the work, both to avoid loss and to make some profit to the State, the profit to be applied in part for remuneration, the work to be perfected so that the goods can be used by State institutions, and at the same time the work should be instructive to the prisoners in order to be useful to them when they are discharged from prison.

Yours truly,
ADOLPH LEWISOHN.

LABRADOR—ITS BOUNDARY QUESTION AND GOLDFIELDS

BY SIR PATRICK T. McGRATH

(K.B.E., St. John's, Newfoundland)

INTEREST in Labrador is extending to both Britain and the United States this year, owing to glowing reports as to the wealth of its gold areas, though so far no adequate test has been made to determine the extent and quality thereof.

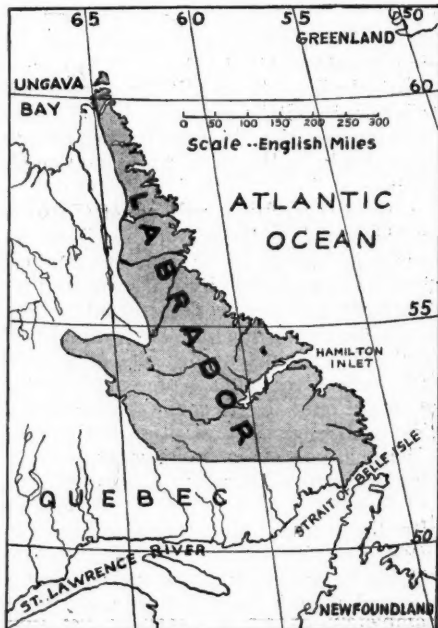
To most people outside Newfoundland and even to most Canadians, it comes as a surprise to learn that this island is the overlord of part of the vast territory of Labrador. Geographically, of course, it belongs to Canada, but administratively the eastern section is a dependency of Newfoundland, and this Island Colony and the Dominion are now involved in a dispute as to the area over which each should properly exercise jurisdiction.

The question turns upon the interpretation of the word "coast," in the ancient documents which assign "the coast of Labrador" to Newfoundland. Some authorities claim that the word must be construed in its restricted application, that is, a strip of land from high-water mark upward, though they are indefinite as to the extent backward it should stretch. Other authorities argue that the word is used in its larger sense, that in which people speak of the Pacific Coast, when they mean the Province of British Columbia in Canada, or California and the other States beyond the Rocky Mountains in the United States. In this sense there are other areas similarly described in different parts of the world—the Gold Coast, the Ivory Coast, the Guinea Coast, and so forth, and in the Bible we find reference to the Coast of Judea.

As to how Labrador came by this name, historians disagree profoundly. It was probably visited by the Norsemen about 1000, and probably by Cabot in 1497. It was certainly seen by Cortereal in 1500, and finds a place on very early maps. In some it is written as at present, but in others as Laborador. Some suggest that the word

means the Laborer's Land, because the early Portuguese navigators seized some of the inhabitants, and took them back to Portugal to labor there as slaves. Others suggest that it was first sighted by an Azorean navigator who was a land-owner and for whom it was named.

Its origin is not important and its history until 160 years ago was equally without interest. England has claimed both Labrador and Newfoundland since Elizabethan days by virtue of Cabot's discovery. Various French and British explorers cruised



THE BOUNDARIES OF LABRADOR, AS CLAIMED BY NEWFOUNDLAND

(More than a century ago the Labrador "coast" was placed under the administration of Newfoundland; for it was Newfoundland fishermen who were populating Labrador. The Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland are now endeavoring amicably to determine just where the boundary should be fixed.)

along its shores; and on its southern front, that which looks on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, French settlements or seigniories were gradually founded as far east as Belle Isle Strait. When Britain, after Wolfe's victory at Quebec, acquired Canada in 1763, the treaty assigned "the coast of Labrador from the mouth of the St. John River, which enters the sea nearly opposite the west end of the Island of Anticosti, to the entrance of Hudson's Straits," to Newfoundland because the west-of-England seafarers who were exploiting the Newfoundland codfishery were by this time gradually pushing their way north along the Atlantic coast of Labrador in quest of the same prey. But, eleven years later, or in 1774, owing to the greater influence of the authorities at Quebec, the region was re-annexed to that Province and Newfoundland's jurisdiction over it terminated.

This status continued till 1809, when, owing to the difficulty in enforcing authority there, 200 leagues from Quebec City, it was again put under Newfoundland, with a rectification of the areas in 1825, when the boundaries were fixed as they are to-day. Quebec's area extends eastward to Blanc Sablon at the inner end of Belle Isle Strait, and that of Newfoundland stretches from there east and north to Hudson's Strait as formerly.

There is no question, then, of the "coast," in the restricted sense of the word, being under Newfoundland's control, so far as the Atlantic front of Labrador is concerned, but she contends that the word "coast" must be regarded in its larger aspect, and carries with it the complement which attaches to the word in other parts of the world, namely, control over the whole watershed draining into that coast. If this view were upheld she would control an area of, roughly, one-fourth of the entire region, because the Labrador peninsula itself, which is regarded by geographers as the territory east of a line drawn south from James Bay, the southern extension of Hudson Bay, to the St. Lawrence, has an area of roughly 520,000 square miles, or ten times that of the State of New York.

The geography of the interior, while not completely known in detail, is yet sufficiently advanced to show that the terrain watered by the rivers which run to the Atlantic Ocean is practically as shaded on the accompanying map. The area whose rivers drain into Hudson Bay is regarded as Canadian because of the acquisition by

Canada sixty years ago of the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose original charter in 1670 gave it control over all the regions whose waters ran into Hudson Bay—a concession so sweeping that when it came to be applied in comparatively modern times it was found to extend almost to the Rocky Mountains and embrace areas in some of the Western Provinces of Canada and some of the Northern States of the American Republic.

The interior of Eastern Labrador is unpeopled except by bands of Montagnais and Nascopie Indians; and the coast is uninhabited except by small tribes of Eskimos, save south of Hamilton Inlet, where there are about two thousand white and half-breed settlers, who support themselves by fishing and trapping. At points in the western part the Hudson's Bay Company has fur-trading posts and at places on the seaboard both on the St. Lawrence Gulf and on the Atlantic face this company has also establishments. In the latter area the northern section is occupied by Eskimos, some 1500 of whom remain out of tribes once much larger; and on the southern strip reside the whites and half-breeds, mentioned above, and known as "livyers" (live here, or permanent settlers).

The Hudson's Bay Company's posts trade, on the one hand, with the Indians of the interior, who visit them from time to time for the purpose, and on the other hand with the Eskimos and "livyers," and Newfoundland trading vessels also resort to the region every summer to traffic with the latter classes.

The Atlantic front is divided by a huge fiord, known as Gross Water Bay, or Hamilton Inlet (after Sir Charles Hamilton, Governor of Newfoundland in 1818-24), which extends 160 miles to the peninsula. The outer coast is a favorite resort of the codfish, and the fishery there is prosecuted every summer by thousands of Newfoundlanders who proceed to the coast in their fishing crafts and ply their calling for the summer months. Among them the famous Dr. Grenfell finds the chief outlet for his missionary activities, but these are also extended to the settlers—fishers and trappers, whites and half-breeds—while the bands of Eskimos farther north are under the fostering care of Moravian missionaries from England and Germany, who have been laboring amongst them for the past century and a half.

Newfoundland has for nearly 120 years exercised without a break jurisdiction along the seaboard and as far up the inlet as settlements extend, and as occasion demanded courts were held there—first by naval officers as surrogates, and later by regularly constituted judges—by one of the latter in Hamilton Inlet as long ago as 1825, while the collection of customs duties, begun in 1865, has continued uninterruptedly until to-day.

Gradually in later years mail, coastal steam, lighthouse, wireless, telegraph, hospital and other services have been provided by the Newfoundland Government from time to time, but because of the sterility of the seaboard, the uncertainties of the codfishery, the precarious state of the trapping industry inland, the difficulties of cultivating the soil, and the obstacles which the annual ice embargo places in the way of utilizing the forests with which the valleys are filled, the population has been but small. The total, excluding the inland Indians, but including the Eskimos on the seaboard, was only 3500 in 1921—a decline of 500 from the previous census, which was the highest figure ever reached. It is doubtful if the Indians ever numbered more than a few hundred altogether, in comparatively modern times. Whatever interest the inhabitants have with the outside world is with Newfoundland in the main. Through that country they are furnished with all the facilities they receive for their year's needs, during the four or five ice-free months in every year. Boats on the coast and canoes on the river afford summer transport and dog-teams that traverse the frozen wastes are the winter vehicles.

Canada's claim to the region was not formulated until about twenty-five years ago, when the boundaries of the Province of Quebec were extended so as to take in the eastern territory reaching almost to the coast. This measure attracted so little interest in Newfoundland, and its effect was so little realized, that no protest was made and it was enacted into law by the Ottawa Parliament. That fact does not, however, under the British constitutional system, prejudice Newfoundland's rights. Prior to that action, Newfoundland had never seen any occasion for a closer definition of her rights because she alone exhibited any interest in the region. The two countries have now agreed to submit their

claims to the Imperial Privy Council, in London, the tribunal which, by Imperial Statute, passes upon such disputes in all parts of the Empire. The case is expected to reach that Tribunal early in 1924 and its decision will be final and unappealable.

Newfoundland's contention, as already stated, is that her control of the coast carries with it jurisdiction over the whole watershed. Canada, on the other hand, contends that Newfoundland has only a right to a section of the coast following the sinuosities of the seaboard, the area of it to be determined by the tribunal on the basis of what is necessary for the carrying on of the fishery. Both parties have been actively engaged for some years in preparing the material to support their respective views, and the archives of Britain, France, Canada and United States have been searched in quest of maps, records, and other material calculated to assist in throwing light on the whole subject. Some of the most eminent counsel in Great Britain have been engaged and the best legal talent in the two countries drawn upon, and if the question reaches the Privy Council the argument will be a historic one, though latterly there has been talk of a settlement by purchase, which may ultimately come to pass.

The question takes on an important aspect latterly from the fact that about the time Quebec extended its boundaries the value of spruce for making pulp and paper was coming to be realized and Labrador has much timber of this description, so that its possession would be of value in the light of the future expansion of this industry. Indeed, it was not until 1904, when Canadian lumbermen working in the region under grants from the Newfoundland Government were stopped by Quebec authorities, who claimed that the region belonged to that Province, that the seriousness of the complication began to be realized; and the intervening period has been given over to measures leading up to a settlement. Now a new factor has been introduced through the report circulated last year by some Canadians who visited the region, that they had found gold in paying quantities in an area called Stag Bay, sixty miles north of Hamilton Inlet. This announcement started a gold "boom," which is spreading in Canada and which has induced great numbers to invest in stock promotion schemes, while there has also been talk of a big rush to the region.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

What the Austrian Loan Meant for Austria

SINCE the League of Nations took charge of Austria's finances, visitors to that unhappy country report that business conditions have materially improved. Under the wise administration of Dr. Zimmermann, the Dutch financier appointed by the League, the value of the krone has been stabilized during the past six months and an international loan has been oversubscribed in England, Italy, Holland, France and the United States.

Baron Franckenstein, Austrian Minister to Great Britain, contributes to the *Contemporary Review* (London) for October an account of the genesis of the loan which apparently has gone so far toward putting Austria on her feet. After describing the desperate situation in which Austria found herself in the summer of 1922 and the refusal of the Supreme Council of the Allies to make further appeals for the financial support of Austria, Baron Franckenstein alludes to the effort made by the Austrian chancellor to put his country's case more clearly before the European governments:

In the course of his now famous journeyings to north and to south he made it clear to each government in turn that an Austria in the process of collapsing internally could not fail to be a cause of discord between all the neighboring states, but that if, on the contrary, a method could be found to build up our country on a reasonable basis, Central Europe would be assured not only of the continued and useful existence of this great center of culture but also of a long period of settled peace and order.

The truth of these arguments was borne in so forcibly upon the different statesmen and political financiers representing their various countries at the meeting of the League of Nations at Geneva, that they agreed to urge their governments to support a scheme for the internal reconstruction of Austria, the raising of a large loan and the guaranteeing of this loan by a number of powers. By this means the very dangers upon which Dr. Seipel had insisted were turned into forces making for the stability of Austria and Central Europe. The solemn covenant with Austria into which Austria's neighbors no less than the great powers had entered, imposed upon them in the eyes of all the world the

obligation to forego mutual rivalry, and to combine in a common scheme of financial assistance to Austria. The profound political insight and the diplomatic skill which united to bring about this result (the first constructive treaty of importance signed since the War) were contributed by a few men, chief of whom by general recognition was Lord Balfour, to whom Austria and Europe owe a deep debt of gratitude.

Baron Franckenstein points out that the floating of this loan was undertaken under most unfavorable circumstances.

We were compelled by our own needs to make the best of a situation which certainly did not favor the success of our efforts. The looming shadow of the Ruhr, where events entered upon a still more acute phase during the very period of our negotiations for the Loan, darkened all the financial markets of the world and served only to accentuate the already unfavorable impression in America. The people of the United States, still doubtful about Europe, were especially so about Austria, whose earlier desperate situation their generous charity had labored for so long to alleviate. A knowledge of the remarkable progress of the work of reform in Austria had not yet penetrated to the great mass of the American people. Moreover, it appeared likely that the great and sudden revival of economic activity in the United States would have the first call on all available American capital.

In these circumstances could we hope to get any credits from the United States? More than one American of great practical experience expressed to me a pessimistic view. Should the Franco-German conflict take a more critical shape, should War flare up anew in the Near East—and the state of the negotiations of the Lausanne Conference did not yet warrant the certainty of peace—then the successful placing of the Austrian Loan would be seriously jeopardized.

Many other difficulties were encountered in England and the Continental countries:

If it be asked how it was found possible to overcome all these formidable obstacles—of which I have recounted only a few—the explanation lies in a fact which is of the highest importance for us, and which constitutes a cause for the deepest satisfaction and encouragement—namely the awakening confidence in our country felt abroad as a result of the progress of our work of reform. Without this, in spite of all the political factors which militated in



THE AUSTRIAN KRONE AND THE GERMAN MARK

(Since this cartoon was drawn the contrast has become still more significant)

From *Kikeriki* (Vienna, Austria)

favor of preserving Austria from ruin, it would never have been possible to negotiate the loan successfully with banking groups in so many countries, in each of which the mentality of the public was an element of great importance. This re-awakened confidence was demonstrated in the most remarkable manner by the decision of the firm of Morgan and Company, and of the syndicate formed by them, to participate in the Austrian Loan. Morgans have long been known to hold the view that one of the first duties of the American financial world is to undertake its share in European reconstruction, but only when assured that a solid basis has been created and that

the sums invested will enable a definite result to be achieved. As a result of the reports which had been sent across the Atlantic and the conversations which took place between Morgan's representative, Mr. Lamont, and European experts (in particular Sir Arthur Salter, who proved himself of the greatest assistance to us) and the members of the Loan Commission, J. P. Morgan and Company decided to share in this loan with all their associates throughout the United States. It is impossible to overestimate the importance to Europe of this decision. Not only did it render possible the launching of the loan for the whole amount proposed, but our country thereby becomes as it were the bridge which the United States have elected to utilize in order to associate themselves with the task of renewing the economic energies of the continent, and, by this means, of establishing peace in Europe once again. Viewed from this standpoint, the initialing of the agreements between the Morgan group and the Austrian Loan Commission, which took place on Ascension Day, appeared to us to assume a historic significance.

Baron Franckenstein considers the success of the loan as of the highest significance to Austria. More than that, he looks upon it as the happy outcome of efforts for reconstruction undertaken jointly by a number of States. He feels that Austria owes a debt of gratitude, on the one hand, to those countries which from their geographical position are less directly concerned in Austria's fate, and, on the other hand, to those countries which are handicapped by their own straitened finances for the special exertions which they have put forth.

Considering the Austrian loan as the largest constructive task thus far accomplished by the League of Nations, Baron Franckenstein feels justified in the hope that the League, through increased authority, will soon be able to solve even more formidable problems.

Secretary Davis on Selective Immigration

REASONS for the adoption of a selective immigration policy are set forth by Secretary Davis of the Department of Labor in the September *Forum* (New York). The Secretary believes that aliens desiring to enter the United States should pass strict physical, mental and moral tests, before embarking. Moreover, he would have every immigrant enrolled upon arrival in this country and deported in the event of failure to show signs of qualifying as a good American citizen. Looking at the immigration problem, not from the standpoint of American labor alone, nor from that of the American employer, but from

the standpoint of all America, Mr. Davis insists that what is best for America as a whole is best for American labor and American industry. He says:

There is agitation in some parts of the country to demonstrate that we need immigrants because we are short of labor. I know that we are prosperous in America, that industry is busy, and that the American workingman is working for good wages. I remember what conditions were two years ago. At that time more than five million American workmen were walking the streets looking for jobs. Wages were being cut generally. Factories and mills were crowded with products for which no market could be found. With demand practically at a standstill, industry faced a period of depression, strikes, and turmoil. Econ-

omists predicted industrial panic. Was it not wise with five million of our workers idle, to impose restrictions which halted the entrance of workers to join the ranks of idleness? Was it not wise to protect, not only the native-born American workman, but also the immigrant already here, from the disastrous effect of adding further to the army of unemployed?

We have weathered that storm and now travel on the turning tide. To-day employment is normal; wages are on the up-grade. During the last few months practically all the forty-three basic industries covered by the Bureau of Labor Statistics have reported wage increases. In the last year the amount of payrolls in industrial plants in the basic industries have increased twenty-five per cent. Production in those industries in January of this year was greater than in any other month in our industrial history, except May, 1917. Under these conditions it is natural that labor should be in demand, and that some employers should seek it through immigration. There are some who seem to believe that there is always waiting at our gates just the sort of labor that we need, in the numbers we need.

Certainly in the last fiscal year the immigration we received did not bring us labor. That year we admitted 432,505 aliens, of whom 310 were not quota immigrants; the others being of exempt classes and aliens from foreign contiguous territory. That year 345,384 left the United States. Thus there remained as the net gain of aliens under the quota law 87,121. Of those classified as "laboring classes" we admitted 96,410 and, as the number of this class that left the country was 113,234, the actual loss was 16,824 for the year. In other words—despite a net gain of nearly ninety thousand aliens during the year—we had fewer alien workers at the end of the year than when the year began. How many millions of foreigners must we admit to gain one hundred thousand workers? The problem is too complicated, and the experiment entails too much danger to American life and institutions. Most of those who departed had arrived and worked during prosperous times, leaving during the depression and taking their savings with them. If they had remained and kept their earnings here the country would have profited.

In advocating the making of tests abroad, Mr. Davis declares that nothing else would so greatly strengthen our whole immigration policy:

One great result of moving our inspection machinery abroad to make selections among the applicants for admission to America would be to end the heartrending scenes which every day confront our agents at Ellis Island and other ports of entry. Law enforcement is made particularly difficult when officials are faced with the sufferings and sorrows of the unfortunates who have traveled thousands of miles, leaving behind all that life has meant to them up to that time, only to find that under the law they are barred from the Promised Land. Rejection for many of them means utter poverty, a long return sea voyage, and despair. But the law is inexorable. And we could end all these horrors if we could make our selection on the other side. If we halt these cases before they leave their native countries we shall end the troubles at our ports of entry and the immigrant will be qualified to land

in the United States immediately upon his arrival. I call this selective immigration. As long as the United States is to admit foreigners, I would have our system function to bring us the best class we can obtain abroad, and to make their way into America easy and comfortable.

I would also provide for enrollment of the alien after he is here. I would have him enrolled upon his admission, and, over a period of years, provide for a census of the alien population by the Naturalization Bureau. We register every American citizen to ascertain his right to exercise the suffrage and we provide for the compulsory education of our youth. Surely there can be no objection to the enrollment of an alien who comes with a desire to qualify for American citizenship. If, after a period of years, the record of the individual plainly showed that he was unfit, I would provide for his deportation.

I am not in favor of compelling any individual to become a citizen of the United States. Merely forcing an alien to go through the formal legal ceremony of naturalization will not make him an American. True citizenship must come from the mind and heart.

I remember clearly the circumstances under which my family came to this country. I unhesitatingly say that my people would have welcomed the opportunity to be listed by the Government of the United States as prospective citizens. My father was, unfortunately, not an educated man, for he had begun to work for his living early in life. He became a patriotic American in spite of all the handicaps which he faced. I feel that the system I now propose would have given him and his a better chance to absorb the spirit of America.



THE RUSH TO AMERICA

THE CLYDE EMIGRANT (held up by "the quota"): "Here, Sam, do you think he's going to make a better citizen than I?"
UNCLE SAM: "No, my boy, but I guess I've got to pretend it for the time being."

From the *Evening News* (Glasgow, Scotland)

Coal—Our Chained Prometheus

NOW that the menace of an anthracite coal strike is removed for the time being, we may with profit examine some of the permanent factors in the American coal problem. These are analyzed by Mr. Robert W. Bruère, of the New York Bureau of Industrial Research, in the October number of *Harper's*.

Considering, first, the country's coal-producing capacity, Mr. Bruère maintains that this would not exceed our requirements if we could maintain a consistent rate of social and industrial development.

In business boom times, as in war time, the giant under the earth is aroused by our clamor for all the fuel and power he can give us, but the moment he puts forth his full energy the railroad barrier rises, transportation breaks down, industry is alarmed by threatened fuel shortage, business boom turns to business depression, the industrial cycle plunges down from peak to valley, and the discouraged giant sinks back into demoralized sloth. Other elements, of course, enter into the business cycle, but this is not the least of them. So the miners become the victims of intermittent employment, the operators swing from feast to famine, and the consumers pay the piper but cannot call the tune.

For both the miners and the operators service to what should be the steadiest of all industries turns into a gamble. Everybody comes to play for the boom. The expectation of high prices when the boom is on infests the industry with speculators

whose interest in coal is on a par with the book-maker's interest in horses. Outside of the monopolistically controlled anthracite field and a few bituminous areas subsidiary to the steel mills and the larger public utilities, the coal trade has become a crude kind of Monte Carlo. The chances of a lucky hundred-to-one shot lead the speculators not only to risk the cost of the minimum necessary equipment of mines they may never take the trouble to set eyes upon, but also to entice thousands of miners into remote mining camps on the lure of boom prices and wages, although the chances of regular operation match the chance of a lucky draw in a lottery.

During the thirty years prior to 1919 the average number of days worked in the bituminous fields (bituminous is our industrial fuel, anthracite almost exclusively domestic) was 215 out of a possible working year of 308 days. Since this was the average the actual working year for many thousands of miners was necessarily far less. In 1919 the average was 195 days; in 1921, only 169 days. Such intermittency largely accounts for the twin phenomena of bankruptcies and profiteering, high wage scales and low per-annum earnings. It is because of the uncertainties of their employment that the miners demand a per-diem wage that is often regarded as high in spite of the excessive hazards of their occupation.

Their phenomenal endurance as strikers when their wage scale is threatened is due to their knowledge that any cut in the scale would result in less than a bare subsistence for most of them in terms of annual income. There are flourishing and attractive mining towns, but the typical mining village is drab and desolate beyond belief. In the midst of the richest stores of mechanical energy in the world, energy that should be liberating mankind for the cultivation of the good life, millions of men, women and children struggle in a slough of brutalizing poverty, unable to escape not only because they live remote from all other industries, but also because when their industry slackens all other industries slow down or stop.

The endemic speculative fever necessarily leads to the wasteful gutting of the best and most easily worked mines. Shortsighted methods of driving headings and entries into the seams and the generally crude organization of underground work not only limit the effective working-time of the miners to a fraction of the time which they spend at the face of the coal, but also put beyond recovery at least one ton for every ton brought to the surface.

In addition to the enormous waste of coal which is continually going on at the mines, Mr. Bruère points out that the wastes at the points of consumption are greater still. The Director of the United States Geological Survey has shown that, out of every 2000 pounds of coal mined, 600 pounds are lost in the processes of mining, thirty-one pounds are consumed in these processes, ninety-five are used in transportation or lost on the way to the boiler-room, 446 go up the stack, 102 are lost in radiation and in



THE MAN ON TOP

COAL OPERATOR: "Don't dig him out. You might hurt him!"
From the *Labor Age* (New York)

the ash pit, 650 are lost in converting heat into mechanical energy, and only seventy-six pounds—slightly less than 4 per cent.—are finally converted into mechanical energy.

From the analysis of the energy resources of the United States made by Gilbert and Pogue for the Smithsonian Institution, it appears that the money value of the commodities wasted by our present methods of burning coal, taking the market prices of 1915, amounts to \$2,000,000,000 a year—almost a half-billion more than the total selling price at the mines of the entire bituminous coal output in 1920. This is the price we pay for retaining an antiquated mechanical equipment for consuming raw coal.

The solution of the problem, according to Mr. Bruère, is to be found in the develop-

ment of electricity at giant power plants at the mines. Mr. Bruère says in conclusion:

Meanwhile, it is well to remember that anthracite represents less than one-fifth of our present coal production, less than one-ninth of the total present capacity of our mines. Bituminous coal is the prime source of our mechanical energy. It is our antiquated method of using bituminous that overburdens our railroads and involves an annual waste in unrecovered by-products which experts measure in billions of dollars. The next great advance in our industrial civilization will come through the large-scale conversion of bituminous coal into electricity at the mines. Already the State of Pennsylvania has created a Giant Power Survey Board with this object in view. Its attainment will mean the electrification of our railroads, the wide diffusion of cheap light and power by wire to small industrial communities and even to farms. It will mean the replacement of the old race of machines by the progeny of the new technical revolution.

The Electrification of North America

NO longer is the super-power plan for the United States and Canada regarded as visionary. Engineers tell us that with modern electrical apparatus the working out of such a plan is entirely practical. In the *World's Work* (New York) for September, General Guy E. Tripp, Chairman of the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, explains what this plan means and how it can be carried out.

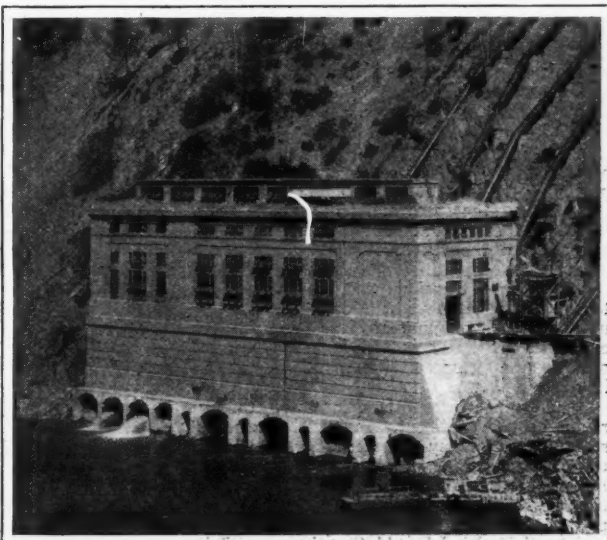
Although only about 10,000,000 of the 65,000,000 horse-power available in the water-falls of North America is now utilized, General Tripp presents several reasons why it should be utilized far more extensively:

In the first place, the use of water-power saves fuel and conserves our never-to-be-replaced resources of coal and oil.

It also conserves human labor. A steam plant not only requires a larger operating staff than a water-power plant of the same capacity but it must also have the services of many men to mine and transport to it the necessary coal. It is estimated that to produce a given amount of power by steam twenty times as many men are required as to produce it by water, and that upward of

a half a million men would be released for other duties if it were possible to replace steam power with water power.

A properly built hydro-electric plant is, moreover, a permanent asset. Its chief construction work (the dam, power-house, etc.) can be made as enduring as the hills; and its machinery, being able to transform into power more than 90 per cent. of the available energy of the water, is in little danger of being superseded by improved types. Steam machinery,



POWER HOUSE OF THE GREAT WESTERN POWER COMPANY IN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

(Showing the pipes which carry water to the turbine wheels, from above the falls)

on the other hand, has an almost continuous history of replacement through improvement, and since the best of our modern steam apparatus has a working efficiency of hardly more than 16 per cent. there is no reason to believe that the end of this process has been reached.

A serious difficulty, however, in the individual development of our water-powers is that in most of our rivers the flow varies greatly from season to season. A river that can generate 500,000 horse-power in the spring may be unable to produce 20,000 in seasons of drought. Instead of trying to develop water-powers individually, several may be connected in a single system and power may be fed into the same system from one or more supplementary steam plants. Variations in the flow of the water-powers tend to counteract one another, especially if the water-powers belong to different drainage systems. The steam plants, operated only when needed to make good deficiencies in the water-power, assure a definite maximum of power at all times with a minimum consumption of fuel. This forms the so-called super-power system.

Obviously, the transmission lines of a super-power system must form a network covering a considerable area, and thus electric service is made available to many people, especially in the rural districts, who otherwise could not get it. Furthermore, as with other commodities, the large-scale production and distribution of power by a single system makes possible many economies that are unobtainable with a number of small independent systems of equal output. Of growing importance is the fact that a super-power system can advantageously use power from any economical source generated within the area covered by it. Take the case of a steel plant, for example. The gases driven off from the coke ovens and the blast furnaces form an excellent fuel, but a large proportion of them is ordinarily wasted. If, however, the lines of a super-power system pass near the plant, power can be produced by the gases and fed into the system, thereby reducing the amount of power that must be supplied by the system's supplementary steam plants.

It is evident, therefore, that a super-power system can produce power at a lower cost and distribute it to a larger number of people than can an equivalent of small independent systems. But what are the technical and economic limitations to its size?

There are none except those imposed by the topography of our continent. In fact, by means of a single super-power system, extending from ocean to ocean and receiving power from every waterfall, from the waste products of industry, and from all other economical sources, including huge steam plants of the most efficient type placed in the coal regions and other favorable locations, we shall be able to distribute the maximum amount of power obtainable from our resources to the largest number of people at the lowest possible cost.

General Tripp summarizes the advantages of the single super-power system as follows:

It will enable us to make the fullest use of labor-saving machinery in every industry, thereby increasing the incomes of the workers and decreasing the cost of the products of labor for the consumers.

It will permit the electrification of many of our railroads and will also reduce to a minimum the tonnage of fuel to be hauled. For both of these reasons, the efficiency of our transportation system will be greatly improved. It will, by making industry and comfortable living conditions possible almost anywhere, tend to draw the people out of the congested cities and distribute them throughout the country.

It will provide the farmer with an ideal means of doing a large part of his work and give him welcome relief from his labor difficulties. It will also serve him by greatly reducing the price of fertilizer, for with ample supplies of cheap power, fertilizer can be manufactured at an exceedingly low cost.

Not the least of its benefits will be the lightening of the tasks of the housekeeper by making possible the universal use of electric cooking and labor-saving devices.

As a matter of fact, this system is being developed more rapidly than most people are aware. As General Tripp points out, the present tendency in the electric light and power industry is to consolidate or to inter-connect adjacent systems. As a result, super-power systems of considerable size have already been formed along the Pacific Coast, in the Southeastern States, in New England and in the Northwest. Others are in process of formation in Pennsylvania and the Middle West. Eventually there will be two great super-power systems, one covering the country east of the Mississippi and the other west of the great plains. Transcontinental lines, joining these two systems, may be developed some time in the future.

Meanwhile, the development of our water-powers is going ahead rapidly. It appears that there are now on file with the commission created by the Federal Water Power Act of 1917 applications for the development of more than 20,000,000 horse-power. Mr. Frank G. Baum, an experienced hydro-electric engineer, has prepared detailed plans for the final system. Electric light and power companies in the remotest parts of the country can carry on new construction and extensions under the guidance of these plans.

General Tripp holds that the ownership and operation of the single super-power system, when it comes, must be in private hands and not be vested in the government, but it must be under public regulation.

How They Build in Japan

WE are all interested in the new construction that will soon begin in Japan and will continue for many months in the effort to replace the buildings destroyed by the earthquake. Dr. Beard's article on page 373 of this number outlines the tremendous task of reconstruction that lies before the Japanese people. It happened that an American building expert, Mr. W. A. Starrett, recently visited Japan and arranged for important building operations there. Some of his impressions of the building methods generally employed by the Japanese are embodied in an article entitled "New Construction in an Ancient Empire," which he contributed to the September number of *Scribner's Magazine*.

Evidently, the City of Yokohama was a disappointment to Mr. Starrett, in that so many of the buildings were mere copies of European and American designs of the Mid-Nineteenth Century. Dr. Beard's account of the growth of Yokohama as a modern city largely explains this phenomena. The Japanese adopted Western models in building as in

everything else, and the architecture of business buildings in 1850, both in Europe and in America, certainly left much to be desired. Mr. Starrett explains some of the engineering difficulties that presented themselves when the Japanese attempted



© Underwood and Underwood

A TOKYO OFFICE BUILDING OF MODERN CONSTRUCTION,
DESIGNED TO RESIST EARTHQUAKE SHOCKS

modern building operations in their cities.

Tokyo, for example, like most Japanese cities, stands on a river delta formed by erosion from the mountains. Buildings easily settle in the soft, muddy bottom.

Under that alluvial deposit, however, there is excellent sand, and under the sand a good quality of hard-pan. This would be regarded by an American engineer as a good foundation soil. A few years ago, after the American constructors began their work, piles were imported from Oregon and driven down to the hard-pan by great American steam pile-drivers. The hard-pan was fifty feet below the surface, but when once reached offered a sure and solid foundation.

It is generally assumed



A NATIVE JAPANESE HOUSE OF A FAMILIAR TYPE, AFTER
A FORMER EARTHQUAKE

that the Japanese will never erect high buildings. The leading cities have uniform building codes which limit the height to 100 feet—about eight stories. Although other considerations had a part in dictating this policy, Mr. Starrett thinks that the earthquake problem was the determining factor. The Japanese, in recent years, have made a profound study of earthquakes and their scientists have gone as far as those of any other country in their study of the general earthquake problem. Contrary to a prevalent impression, however, Mr. Starrett does not credit the Japanese people with great wisdom in building their houses to resist the earthquake shock. He says that the roofs are heavy, generally covered with weighty tile. As a fire preventive this is an excellent plan, but as an engineering expedient against earthquakes, it has no value:

When the tremor comes, the spindly corner posts of the structures rock and gyrate, setting in motion the heavy roof, which, if it does not careen from its flimsy moorings, commences to shed its tiles into the streets, and like spilled dishes they clatter down, often causing casualties that would never have

happened had the roofs been of lighter construction and properly engaged to the side walls and foundations. Inquiry develops the fact that a large number of the casualties in earthquakes in Japan come from falling roofs and tiles.

Modern structures of almost any type, built throughout Japan, prove that the native construction has been its own worst enemy, and that the earthquake disturbances, however undesirable, have been largely aided and abetted by the native construction methods, from which relief has been obtained by the adoption of things Occidental in building.

Admitting that modern construction has no real solution for the earthquake problem, Mr. Starrett maintains that the light skeleton structure familiar to Americans is superior to anything heretofore attempted in Japan. Every element that an earthquake of moderate severity has been known to produce can be met, he says, through the standard formulæ of strains and wind-bracing, now the common knowledge of the American engineer. The menace of earthquakes of great severity will always remain, but in skeleton steel and in modern reinforced concrete Mr. Starrett holds that America has contributed to Japan a large measure of relief.

A New Factor in Destruction of Wild Life

IN THE current number of *Nature Magazine* (Washington, D. C.), Dr. William T. Hornaday, who has so often raised his voice in behalf of the dwindling remnant of game animals in this country and elsewhere, tells us that the widespread use of the automobile in hunting has increased the perils of wild life 50 per cent. He says:

Wherever there are roads either good or bad, or open plains over which automobiles can travel, there will you find the automobile going "hell bent" after whatever game is afoot. It is not enough that the game-killer should have a bewildering array of assistants and accessories consisting of professional guides and cooks, dogs, tents, automatic and pump shotguns, repeating rifles and limitless fixed ammunition to gain every conceivable advantage over the frightened bird and the harassed wild animal. It is not enough that the machine guns spray pellets of lead like water from a hose sprinkler. It is not enough that the modern rifle actually kills big game at a *quarter of a mile, or more*. It is not enough that the shrewd "local guide" treacherously reveals the last hiding places of the game that he has seen reared for cannon-fodder around his own home.

No. All these grossly unfair advantages seem not enough to pile up against the harassed and bedeviled remnants of killable game. To them the speedy and tireless automobile must be added, in

order that the haunts of the game may be hunted over, not merely three or four times per season, but ten or twenty times, perhaps.

Hunting by automobile prevails even in wild and trackless regions of the globe. A good deal has been heard about Mr. Roy Andrews' exploits in chasing gazelles over the plains of Manchuria. The half-dozen specimens that he killed to enrich the collections of the American Museum of Natural History will never be missed, but unfortunately similar methods of hunting are being practiced on an enormous scale for "sport" and for gain.

The open plains of eastern Africa, from Cape Colony to Khartoum, are persistently hunted over by automobiles. North of Nairobi the game country has seen much of them. In the Transvaal, and many other portions of South Africa, the hunting motor car now takes the place of the old trek wagon and its long line of oxen, and the saddle horse—but with what a fearful difference to the unhappy game! In the Barbary States there is every prospect that the auto car will presently exterminate the most picturesque wild species of North Africa, the Barbary wild sheep, or aoudad.

Nowhere, however, says the author, is the

hunting automobile doing more deadly execution than in the United States.

In New England the hunters of grouse, quail and deer now use automobiles almost as universally as guns are used. During the deer hunting season in the northeastern states, go into the deer countries of New York, Vermont and New Hampshire and you will very quickly begin to meet automobiles with dead deer lashed to their radiators or running boards. Go to Beaumont, Texas, or San Antonio, or Orange, and you will find pictures of automobiles so loaded down with dead game that it will stagger you. There is now extant a beautiful Texas postal card showing the side of a large touring car completely covered with festoons of dead quail; and before her reformation a similar picture was made in Nevada. The Texas hunting autos gather in great quantities of shore birds, ducks, geese, deer and an occasional specimen of opossum.

The automobile is getting in its deadly work on the game of the Dakotas, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Manitoba, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and more other states and places than there is space to mention.

What shall be done about curbing the fearful destructiveness of the automobile? It is a difficult question. I fear that cutting the deadly claws and muzzling the deadly jaws of the flivver must be



GAME BAG BROUGHT IN BY AN AUTOMOBILE HUNTING PARTY IN TEXAS

held to be a practical impossibility. The one thing, however, that would count heavily, and put an everlasting crimp in the flivver, is a 50 per cent. reduction in all bag limits, and in the length of all open seasons, and reducing the automatic and pump shotguns to two shots. But as yet the masses of sportsmen of America have shown no signs of endorsing this program. Can anything make them see, before it is too late, that now they are, with fearful rapidity, exterminating their own game and their own sport according to law?

A Renewal of Interest in the Pony Express

THE opening of the day-and-night transcontinental air mail route has called forth various retrospects of the history of transportation and communication in the West, and has inevitably shed fresh luster upon that ever-memorable exploit of hardy frontiersmen, the Pony Express. Public interest in the subject was revived not long ago when the Daughters of the American Revolution placed a tablet on the old Alta Telegraph building, in Sacramento, marking the western terminus of the famous express route. Finally, early in September, an organization known as the Pony Express Memorial Association produced an elaborate Overland Transportation pageant, the most interesting feature of which was a relay race over the route of the Pony Express, between St. Joseph, Mo., and Sacra-

mento, the participants being 140 cowboys on cow ponies and 140 United States cavalrymen.

The story of the Pony Express is told in the current *Union Pacific Magazine* (Omaha) by Miss Mary Pack. Of its importance as an historic landmark she says:

Everyone has heard of the Pony Express, but few of the present generation fully realize its significance and the place it holds in the history of overland transportation. It was the first fast mail between the Missouri River and the Pacific Coast. It was a system whereby messages were carried overland by horseback at a maximum rate of speed; it came into existence in the spring of 1860 in response to a great need for closer communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Coast and ranks as the highest development in overland travel prior to the coming of the Union Pacific Railroad, whose completion it preceded by nine years. By perfected organization, an average distance of 250 miles a day

was attained which, in view of the nature of the territory traversed and the fact that flesh and sinew were the sole agents of transportation, was a marvel of speed.

The Pony Express operated only 16 months when it was supplanted by the overland telegraph, but in its brief existence, it perpetuated the shorter trail across the continent and opened up the way for greater enterprises; it demonstrated the feasibility of an overland-railroad, which had always been counted an impossibility because of destructible winter snows and floods, and it undoubtedly hastened, also, the construction of the overland telegraph. The venture stands in history as a supreme test of American courage and endurance.

The idea of the Pony Express was conceived by B. F. Ficklin, manager for the great pioneer overland freighting firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell, who suggested it to Senator William Gwin, of California. The latter embodied the idea in a bill which he introduced in Congress, but the bill was never passed, and the execution of the project, some years later, was carried out by private interests instead of by the Government. A company was organized by Mr. William Russell, senior partner of the firm just mentioned, with an initial working capital of \$100,000. Financially, the undertaking was not a success. At the end of its short career, which coincided with the completion of the transcontinental telegraph line, the company had expended \$700,000 and the receipts were only \$500,000. It seems strange, says Miss Pack,

that although the Government was expending millions of dollars in fostering less successful mail routes, not one cent was advanced in the interest of the Pony Express. The Company bore the brunt of the whole loss. The only time the Government entered into the transaction was when it reduced the rate of postage from \$5 to \$1 per half ounce.

The patrons of the Pony Express were chiefly newspaper men, commercial houses and the Government. The high rate of postage precluded its use for frivolous correspondence. Letters were written on the thinnest procurable tissue paper rolled in pencil rolls to economize space and, in transit, they were carefully wrapped in oil-skin before being inserted in the compartments of the mail pouch, for their protection against moisture from stormy weather, fording streams or perspiring animals.

The postal charges were at first \$5 for each half ounce letter, but this rate was afterwards reduced by the Post-office Department to \$1 for each half ounce.

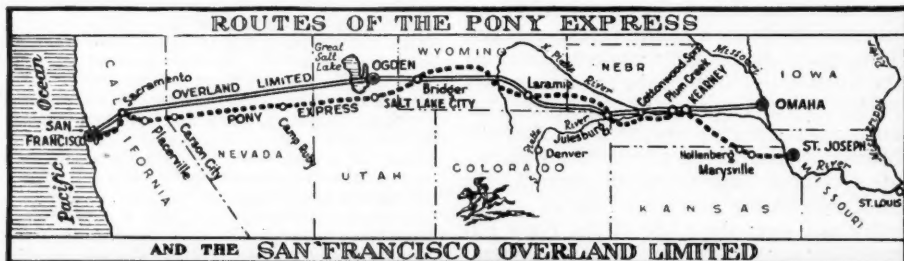
The schedule of ten days across the continent was carefully kept, but on occasions, better time was made. On such occasions, enthusiastic business men in California made up purses as added compensation to the brave riders. President Buchanan's farewell message was speeded to the West in 7 days, 19 hours, news of Lincoln's election in 8 days and Lincoln's inaugural address was rushed through in the wonderfully short time of 7 days and 17 hours. This last run holds the world's record for dispatch by means of men and horses.

During the sixteen months of the Pony Express, the riders, assisted always by faithful station keepers, traveled 650,000 miles through all sorts of hazards and all sorts of weather conditions and, with one exception, they stuck grimly to their responsibility. Carrying out their schedule became religion with them. Their grim determination in the face of difficulties places them in the rank of heroes, yet heroism with them was never a self-conscious trait.

When fully equipped, the line comprised 190 stations, about 420 horses, 400 station men and assistants and 80 riders. These are approximate figures; as the operation of the business proceeded, they varied from time to time.

The problem of the Express was to keep the mails continually moving forward at a maximum rate of speed and the routes chosen, the distances between stations and the rules governing the duties of station keepers and Pony Express riders were all arranged to make this possible. The best horses could not be expected to race at their utmost speed over roads of every kind for more than ten or twelve miles at a heat, and the best horsemen could not be expected to cover more than three or four heats at one ride, for ordinarily the rider, like the horse, is under constant strain while racing; with this consideration, stations were located ten or fifteen miles apart, with water always convenient, and each rider's division was limited to about 75 miles.

As might be expected, horse and rider traveled light. The combined weight of saddle, bridle, and saddle-bags did not exceed 13 pounds; the mail was never to exceed 20 pounds and more often was limited to 15 pounds. The average weight of the rider was 125 pounds—never more than 135—and his arms were limited to a pair of revolvers and a sheath knife so that his equipment did not add much to the total weight. The horses were ordinarily about fourteen hands high and weighed around 900 pounds; they were ponies in no sense of the word, but were so called because of the diminutive "Pony Express" that had been applied to the organization from the outset.



A German Outlook on the Far East

READERS of European reviews during the last few years could not fail to note the remarkable unanimity of the continental writers on one theme alone. There was rarely a pleasant word as to the actions or motives of the United States—England being generally included, under the term “the Anglo-Saxon peoples.” It is especially refreshing to find, in the *Deutsche Rundschau* for August, the two leading articles devoted to recent events in which this country has played a leading part, and to find in the clear and instructive narration no word of ill-will or disparagement.

Heinrich Schnee opens the first article frankly: “The dropping out of Russia from the foremost rank in East Asiatic politics has left the problems of the Far East to be determined primarily by the divergent interests of Japan and the United States.” The annual increment of 600,000 in Nippon’s population, already too large, like England’s, to support itself in its insular homeland, makes expansion in some fashion imperative. Korea and Southern Manchuria are permanent annexations, but uncongenial in climate. From our west coast, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and now even Hawaii, the yellow races are permanently debarred—and the German critic agrees that they would indeed swiftly crowd out the less industrious and less abstemious white laborers. On the other hand, the Japanese farm laborer cannot compete, on these same grounds, with the Chinese, whose land is moreover overcrowded already. So even to China Nippon cannot send her surplus agricultural masses, as Italy has in the past to both Americas.

Economic infiltration and exploitation of China, however, might well make possible the support of the increasing population at home in Nippon. A far more stringent political mastery over the Middle Kingdom was clearly foreshadowed in the notorious Twenty-one Demands of 1915, which have never been definitely withdrawn or disavowed as part of the eventual Japanese program. As for the string tied to the restitution of Shantung, “whenever China can show her ability to govern it efficiently,” recent events only push that day into a remote and more dubious future.

Though Americans have still space at home, their export trade requires an im-

partially opened door, at least, into the markets of an independent and developed China.

The German spectator regards these policies as irreconcilable, and believes the Washington Conference has only delayed an inevitable contest. He judges, however, that the immense distances and lack of naval stations will always prevent either nation from seriously crippling the other in its homeland.

The recent calamity of Japan throws a strange crosslight on the picture:

“Japan is a gigantic fortress in mid-seas. The chief cities and harbors lie on an inland sea of the chief island, whose four narrow straits cannot be forced.”

Grim memories of Dardanelles are roused by the last assertion; but the two mightiest cities have been laid in ashes by such a bombardment as the combined fleets of the world could hardly have prepared, and the four Guarded Gates will all be flung wide open at the approach of the knightly hosts of the American Red Cross. This calamity may usher in a day of better understanding and of friendly rivalry in trade that enriches all concerned.

The German author foresees no restoration of his own nation to political power in the Orient, but is distinctly encouraging as to the renewal of commerce. Indeed he declares that German trade imports into China had in 1922 practically doubled the amount in the last year of peace, 1913; (110 million yen as against 58 million). This is a most surprising index of Germany’s economic revival.

As to the Sinclair concession of the rich oil rights in Northern Saghalien, with permission to build two harbors on the east coast, the writer recalls that this half of the island, though assured to Russia by the treaty of Portsmouth, is actually occupied by Japanese troops. Also, even if the Soviets can deliver the territory to the concessionaires, it is expressly forfeited by any hostile act of the U. S. government against the Bolshevik government, and even by our failure, within five years, to recognize the present Russian government.

The entire article is a calm, clear and essentially convincing discussion of a difficult subject of capital importance.

German Imperialism Compared to France of the "Bloc" by a Cuban Historian

IN THE *España Nueva* for August 5, Prof. Augustin Hamon explains that when he was invited in 1915 to deliver addresses in London on the causes of the world war, he recalled some similar facts about the policy of the French *Bloc*:

I stated that the imperialistic Germany of 1914 to 1916 held the fate of the war in her claws. She took the initiative in all the action and led it swiftly to completion; she provoked events instead of following them. She directed the destiny of the world, at least apparently. In reality she directed nothing, for she did nothing more than move men down a road mapped out beforehand inevitably by a multitude of circumstances of all kinds. The audacity and the rapidity of the decisions of the German Imperialists could not alter this path. The German Imperialists who were essentially the protagonists of a retrograde movement, proceeded necessarily and fatally to defeat, which the sociologist could clearly foresee as early as 1915.

The imperialistic party in Germany was the champion of conservatism, the symbol of reaction. But they kept their people in a mist of ignorance by means of continuous lies and legends, and denied their fundamental autocracy in daily press appeals to the public for union.

War as usual gave supremacy to brute force as against mentality, and the war code of Germany was nailed to the crossroads of public opinion. This code reestablished the extremely summary justice of the War Councils and the "collective responsibility" in courts martial. This "collective responsibility" which has not been seen in peace codes for more than a century was applied in territories occupied by the Germans in the detention of persons as hostages and their imprisonment without being tried in any way in order to prevent the sabotage of railways by the French and Belgian nationalists. It was also seen in the shipping of hostages in the trains in order that in case of sabotage the French and the Belgians should be the first victims of the acts of their compatriots. It was also shown in the fines imposed on towns as punishment of individual acts committed in their confines. It was shown, at last, in the confiscation and boycott of private property against what is called the international war code.

The Allies and the neutral nations had a policy of "wait and see," which together with the initiative and action of the German Imperialists prolonged the war until it became a civil and socialistic war instead of a national war. This war broke out in 1917 after the Russian revolution.

Since Poincaré took the lead in France the nation has assumed the control of the affairs of the world. Poincaré is solidly supported by the majority in the Chamber of Deputies, called the national *Bloc*, and his policies are always submitted to the approval of the *Bloc*. The France of the *Bloc* has taken since 1922 and especially in 1923 the initiative in all action, carrying it rapidly to completion. It leads the world as Germany did from 1914 to 1918, in all appearance. In reality it directs nothing. It does nothing more than move men along the path already traced and determined in an inevitable way by a

conjunction of circumstances of diverse variety. The audacity of Poincaré is blind and deaf like that of the German Imperialists. This audacity no matter how great cannot alter the path mapped out. Poincaré, who is a man of parts, should read La Fontaine, Molière and Bernard Shaw and meditate on their teachings. Perhaps he would learn from these moralists that men do not create events. They may only use them if they are intelligent and understand the imperative general tendencies of these events. The German Imperialists were not intelligent. It has been a long time since Kant said: "The seizing of Power befalls the reason of the usurpers."

Poincaré and the *Bloc* are a new proof of this. They are, like the German Imperialists, the protagonists of the repression of humanity, and therefore they are surely advancing to defeat. The *Bloc* governs autocratically, despising public opinion, endeavoring to lead France into error and completely hiding the truth from them. The Catholic Church is the greatest force of the *Bloc* as it was of the German Imperialists. Therefore the conservatives and the reactionaries of the entire world are now francophil as they were teutonophil during the war. France is to-day the champion of conservatism, the barrier against the revolution. Brute force rules with the *Bloc*, as is easily seen by a cursory comparison of the naval and military budget with that of public education. The supremacy of the professional soldier is shown in all the daily incidents of the Ruhr. Collective responsibility is flourishing there, the keeping of hostages and shipping them in trains as protection against German patriotic sabotage; the fines imposed upon towns, etc. In fact, everything is similar to the acts of the German Imperialists from 1914 to 1918. The punishment is less drastic, but its nature is the same.

Of course these acts of brute force are condemned by the public opinion of the world with the exception of the conservatives. But the *Bloc* is deaf to everything as the Germans were. They understand only when they are beaten, defeated, imprisoned or executed; their brains are deformed by the exercise of power.

It is the same stage-setting, but the actors have changed rôles. The neutrals and the former allies are "waiting and seeing." And from their passivity there will result a prolongation of the war in the economical and passive form, and therefore their march rapidly to the transformation of the national war into a social war.

When the old allies supported by the neutrals decide to intervene—which they will have to do—it will be too late to prevent the outcome—the logical consequence of the ultra-conservative policy of the *Bloc*. It will be too late to prevent the financial and economical ruin, the riots and outrage of revolution and of the counter-revolution of Germany. Everyone, whether French, English, Italian or neutral, hopes that the effects of the social cyclone will not reach himself. They deceive themselves.

In the same way (concludes Professor Hamon) that the German reactionaries and conservatives were the causes of the ruin of the German Empire, so the French reactionaries and conservatives are now the gravediggers of the reactionary elements they represent and of the conservative capitalism reigning to-day.

Louis Couperus: a Dutch Novelist of International Fame

THE sudden and unexpected death of the distinguished Dutch fiction writer, Louis Couperus, took place on July 16, about a month after the celebration of the "jubilee" observed by his admirers in honor of his sixtieth birthday. That occasion was marked by the presentation of a charming cottage, and it was here that he died as a result of blood poisoning in the face, caused apparently by a scratch or a sting, the circumstances recalling the manner of Lord Carnarvon's death.

Mijnheer Couperus had recently returned from a voyage to the Dutch East Indies, undertaken under the auspices of the *Haagsche Post* (The Hague). He came home by way of Japan, and he had just been the recipient of the much coveted honor of membership in the Order of the Netherlands Lion; he had been a member of the order of Orange Nassau since 1896.

We find in the April number of *Groot Nederland* a charming series of Japanese sketches from which we quote. We likewise take a few sentences from the address of greeting tendered him at 's Gravenhaage, reprinted in the same magazine for July.

Couperus is well known to the English-speaking world through the admirable translations of his works, made by the late Alexander Teixeira de Mattos. Many of his works are extremely popular in America—a fact attested by the circumstance that the present writer was unable to find any of them "in" at the Forty-second Street branch of the circulation department of the New York Public Library.

Couperus (pronounced Coop-pay'-rus) was born on June 10, 1863, at the Havre, and was educated partly in Holland and partly in Batavia. Opinions differ as to the merits of his various works, but a critic in the *London Times* holds that most people would rank first his "Old People and the Things that Pass," the translation of which appeared in 1919. The characters in this belong mainly to the same family and their ages vary from ninety-seven down. They are protagonists in a tragedy which began in a murder committed in Java some sixty years before the date of the story. In the *New York* magazine, *Holland and Her Colonies*, published under the auspices of



LOUIS COUPERUS

the Netherlands-America affiliation, we find the following criticism of this work:

Gradually the thing spreads its heavy clouds of horror and suspense over the whole family. Within this isolated circle, Couperus creates a variety of characters, each a finished masterpiece, each with its own individuality clothing the family likeness. His observation and presentation of senility, old age, middle age, and youth are conducted without a trace of satire, but with artistically restrained pity. The whole theme, which might have been a mere tract on the text, "Your sin will find you out," is raised to the dignity of tragedy.

Some members of this family are encountered again in the famous series beginning with "Small Souls" and including "Dr. Adriaan" and "The Twilight of the Souls." In this series Couperus shows his mastery of the psychology of tragedy, as well as his power as a portrayer of character. In his later works he seems more and more attracted by the psychology of woman. Certain critics, indeed, find him morbid and too much obsessed by sex—he is condemned, indeed, by his more strait-laced compatriots, for what they regard as

a lack of moral tone. Apropos of this the magazine already quoted says:

"The Hidden Force," which was, we believe, the last to be translated by de Mattos, exhibits, like the other books, the close link between Couperus' characters in Holland and the colonial life in the Dutch East Indies. He is profoundly impressed by the corrupting, disintegrating force exercised by the East on European settlers, and the whole story suggests both comparison and contrast with some famous novels of Anglo-Indian life. It must be admitted that Couperus was not always happily inspired. In "The Tour" he attempted a presentation of the gorgeous life of antiquity which has attracted so many novelists from Flaubert downwards, and the result can only be described as

dreary. "The Law Inevitable," too, though much better, is still below the level of his great books. It is an unpleasant study of female psychology, which seems to convey the moral that the love of the body is more powerful than the love of the soul.

The literary style of Couperus is highly colorful and poetic. He well deserves the appellation sometimes given him of "sensitivist." Most of the thirty-odd volumes produced by him in his career of forty years of authorship are novels, but his first work was a collection of poems called "A Spring-tide of Verse," and of late years he has confined himself chiefly to travel-sketches, feuilletons, and similar work.

Thomas Mann: a Leading Prose Writer of Germany

THE publishing house of S. Fischer of Berlin has just issued a complete edition of the novels, short stories and essays of Thomas Mann, who has been recognized as the leading novelist of Germany for nearly a quarter of a century. His novel *Die Buddenbrooks*, the history of a patrician family of one of the northern free cities, established his reputation, and very soon afterwards it was discussed and studied in the lectures on German literature at the Sorbonne.

French readers also enjoyed *Der Tod in Venedig*, a story of the plague in Venice a little before the war, and the *Revue de Genève* has just translated *Tonio Kröger* for its subscribers. His *Königliche Hoheit* told the story of a young American girl who married the reigning prince of a small German state, and has been translated into English.

The Buddenbrooks were as carefully drawn and their stage setting as brilliantly painted as the "Black Pennies" of Joseph Hergesheimer, whom Mann resembles in more than one respect.

M. Felix Berteaux traces his career and significance in letters in the April *Revue Européenne*.

Mann was born in 1875 in Lübeck, where his father belonged to one of the old patrician families of that free city. He was a grain merchant and had married a Creole lady of Portuguese descent. Both strains are clearly evident in the books of Thomas and his brother Heinrich, who is more active and fiery but does not write so well. The Lübeck patricians had been free men

in a practically autonomous city, and their culture, like that of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, was founded on the immense wealth of their merchants, brought, like the mother of Germany's best prose writer, from overseas. After Thomas left high school, he went with his mother to live in Munich, and wrote short stories and novels while ostensibly learning the fire-insurance business.

I left the firm before I was dismissed [writes Mann in the preface to his works] and studied history, political economy and literature for about a year at the *Hochschule*. I suddenly threw over the whole idea and went a-gypsying to Rome, where I idled for a year. I had just enough to live on and consume the mild cigarettes sold by the Italian Government. When I returned to Munich I did my one year's service as soldier, but I was allowed to go after three months. My feet were not willing to adapt themselves to that ideal, virile march called the goose-step, and the inflammation of an aponeurosis kept me flat on my back. But the soul is in a certain sense master of the body it animates, and if I had had the least spark of sacred fire, the pain would not have been insurmountable. I got into civilian clothes and continued my aimless existence. I was for some time a contributor to *Simplicissimus*, and I was nearly forty years old. And now? You may see me with a muffler tied round my throat with other worthless fellows in a café of anarchists. In the gutter, you exclaim? No. I am married to a young and pretty woman, the daughter of a university professor (and a B. A., though she doesn't despise me), and we have five healthy and promising children. I have a splendid apartment in a good neighborhood, all the modern comforts, fine furniture, rugs and pictures. I give orders to three imposing servants and to a collic. My journeys are a king's progress. The provincial academies of letters invite me and I speak in swallow-tails and I am applauded before I open my mouth. I returned to my native city. All the seats were sold in the great casino ballroom, laurel wreaths were offered

me and young lieutenants and pretty wives respectfully asked me to write in their albums. If I should be decorated to-morrow, I would take it like a man.

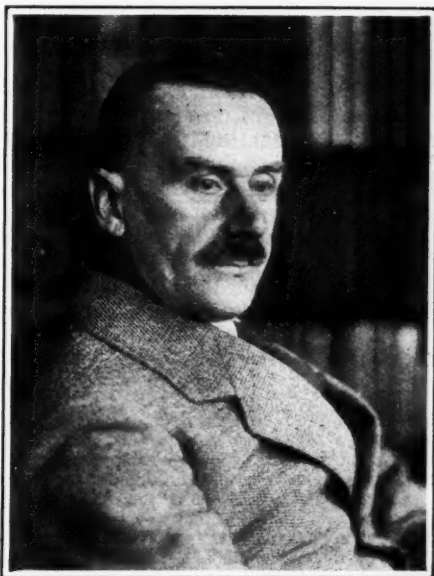
And how did all this happen? How and why? I have not changed, I have not grown better. I have kept on doing what I always did, dreaming, reading the poets and writing as they did. They who have glanced through my books will have remarked the extreme distrust I have always shown to the life of an artist or writer. To tell the truth, the honors that society bestows on this species never cease to astonish me. I know what a poet is, for I am one myself. I have the marks of it. A poet, in a word, is a fellow who is absolutely useless in any of the activities of real people; he only thinks of nonsense; not only does he refuse to serve his country, but he harbors seditious thoughts. He does not even need to be particularly intelligent, and sometimes has a mind as slow and as stupid as mine has always been. He is besides a child, inclined to all disorders, a charlatan who must be distrusted and who should not expect anything from society but a contemptuous silence. However, it is a fact that society permits this kind of person to dwell in its midst, to obtain great honor there and acquire the greatest degree of prosperity.

I should not complain, for I profit by this state of things. But it is not right. It tends to encourage vice and it is a scandal for the worthy!

M. Berteaux remarks that, escaping as he did from the stiff upper middle class of his town while still a boy, Mann has never ceased to be homesick for it. The love of the stable and traditional is as deeply rooted in him as the love of the south and color and warmth of feeling merged in a passionate devotion to music that he inherits from his maternal Latin strain.

Mann's interest is for two types: the average person who is on an equal footing with life, who admits it as it is and blooms as naturally as field flowers, which have a fresh charm of their own; the other type is the person who cannot adapt himself, the frail plant a little out of the ordinary, that an obscure impulse throws out of the soil that nourished it and far from the wall that sheltered it. These figures he does not create, but gropes in his subconsciousness to describe the tendencies of his conflicting dual personality and to try to establish harmony between the inclinations to which he yields alternately.

Mann, like his heroes, lost his sense of fine discipline and order when the war broke out, and wrote in 1915 the pamphlet celebrating Frederick II of Prussia invading Silesia. After this quite comprehensible outburst of romanticism, Thomas Mann followed his brother Heinrich in an open declaration in favor of the German Republic, for which the autonomy of the Hanseatic



THOMAS MANN

free city had abundantly trained them for generations. In Mann's short story *Die Hungernden* Thomas painted himself under the disguise of the one who is hungry. As he leaves the theater, enveloped in his cloak, he jostles a workman with eyes burning with fever in an emaciated face. The man is hungry and the artist recognizes him as a brother. They both know the desire to eat into the life of everyone else, to feed on it and to surfeit themselves with vulgar happiness. The artist draws back from the groaning table, and if he eats the crumbs from the banquet it is in solitude and silence and with the thought that beyond enjoyment is suffering, which is joy also, joy in defying brute matter and in going out of one's self.

Thus Thomas Mann seems to tend the flame of idealism in a period and a country where it was to be feared that materialism would quench it. Attracted by life, Mann sometimes strays from his hermitage without too great regret. For his own errors and those of others, he has a certain indulgence like Goethe's. While controlling his impulse towards life in an aristocratic spirit and bending it towards a love of beauty, he does not blush for his weakness. Must we believe that Thomas Mann is a European, half Latin as he is? He desires first of all to be a German and he would not accept a European concert without the hope of Germany as a conductor, while we are hopeful that France might take the bâton. Both are seeking for differences which are legitimate with a common need for harmony, which is urgent.

Luigi Pirandello: Italian Dramatist

MODERN New Yorkers who have been brought up by Stewart Walker and his Portmanteau Theater and the Theater Guild with their Molnar, Shaw and Ibsen (not to speak of the Russian players propelled, as it were, into their midst) were more than prepared to listen last year to "Six Characters in Search of an Author" while they explained what is known in Europe as *pirandellism*. *Pirandellism* is an Italian variety of the humor of Swift and Sterne, not overgay.

The admirers of Pirandello [writes M. Camille Mallarmé in the June *Revue Européenne*] reply to the objection by the older folk to this intrusion of thought on the stage: "We are escaping from this cardboard drama where every situation has been exploited *ad nauseam*, where all the characters put on conventional masks as they step from the wings and become as eloquent as in a book. And instead we have a writer who allows us to think against our mental habits, to innovate and even to irritate us. Let us thank Pirandello as we have applauded Ibsen, Shaw, François de Curel, Andreieff, Crommelynk, Sarmant. And let the boulevard theater go hang!"

Pirandello has a mania for upsetting our mental habits, a constant seeking for truth in the raw, for a conflict between dream and reality or for a duel between the apparent personality and the deeper, hidden one of every man. He asks, sometimes wholly in doubt, which is the madman, the man who carries out his dream or the good citizen who combats it. In short, this pied piper of a Pirandello is in danger of leading the worthy patrons of the theater straight to Bedlam—from which most of his characters seem to have escaped.

M. Mallarmé interviewed the lion as to his tastes and methods, and prefaces his report with a résumé of the Italian's work. He won his spurs in bitter irony, in this philosophic make-believe, as a writer of short stories, some of which recall de Maupassant. They found little favor with a public addicted to the lyric flights of d'Annunzio, the mysticism of Fogazzaro or to Matilde Serao's romanticism. The variety of themes and heroines is extraordinary. When one reads twenty or thirty of these stories, Italy of before the war rises up as a mirage. The middle class of the provinces live in all their refinement, credulity, passion, positivism, poetry and pharisaical formalism. Pirandello strips his dolls of any halo and makes them dance according to their nature and fate as petty employees, shopkeepers or secret moral delinquents (as in "Upper Stratum and Lower").

His transition from the short story to the drama was made in *Il fu Mattia Pascal* and the hero of "The Moon and the Sixpence" escapes from a shrewish wife and a boring life by the welcome accident of an announcement in a newspaper of his death. Provided for by a large sum of money gained in gambling, Mathias begins life in a great city. The whole play tends to show the growing moral impossibility Mathias feels in resigning himself to the loss of personality in spite of the new reality of happiness, money, liberty or love. He feels exiled from the Mathias Pascal who was recognized as such by his friends and family, although his heart and character may express themselves more freely. So he ends by returning to his small town, where he resurrects Mathias Pascal to the despair of his wife who had married again, and against his own taste, but he is at least recognized and can assume the personality mask practically forged for him by public opinion.

This is the problem of personality which obsesses Pirandello's work. In life, he asks, where does reality stop and fiction begin? How much less real is an idea than an act witnessed by the senses? In "Six Characters in Search of an Author," a director of a band of players is rehearsing with them a one-act play by Pirandello when six persons arrive who, in spite of his protests, insist that the drama of their own existence should be played. He believes them mad, but uses them as letters in an algebraic formula. Given X in such and such a situation, and Y in such and such a relation to him, the result will be Z. All of his fifteen plays have a certain dryness and there is no doubt that Pirandello neglects a little too much the countless shades and paradoxes of the soul and the heart of a much more potent influence on the intelligence than Pirandello admits. In "The Lust for Honor" this deficiency disappears, and the cerebral thesis proposed is not without the sudden intervention of sentiment.

The distinction between Shaw and Pirandello is that the Italian engages in his philosophical puppet shows without thought of moral or dogma.

In Pirandello's plays the chief part is generally that of a person in a position lost in a worldly sense—madness, a deceived

husband, or proxy, and his art consists in rendering the part sympathetic by its intrinsic logic.

M. Mallarmé expressed his admiration at Pirandello's great literary activity.

One lives or one writes (the playwright said with some melancholy). For a painful family reason, I have enclosed my life in work. And I think unceasingly. Whether walking, talking, eating or talking to you, I never stop spinning out my ideas into plays.

How much time do you take to write a play? (asks the chiel from Gaul).

Sometimes, quite a little—three weeks or fifteen days. But when I begin to write the plot is already complete in my head.

Every comedy or drama, observed with the most impassible clear-sightedness, but

trailing between the lines a heavy cloud of malicious pity for this human mediocrity which vacillates eternally between boredom and madness. Pirandello does not pose as moralist or romantic redeemer nor even as pessimist.

He is no vandal (as Benjamin Creieux remarked in the May *Revue bleue*). His work contains a great lesson of strength and kindness. This life of ours fleeing from us continually and which deceives those who believe they have nailed it to the mast, must be subdued by the brave man every minute and fashioned as fine and good as he can for himself and for others. The past does not belong to man and the future is not yet his, but he can mould the present to his will, provided that he conforms to the perpetually changing exigencies of life. A gleam of hope and optimism among the ruins.

High Cost of Living in Italy and Its Causes

WHILE the Italian military authorities are demanding reprisals for the murder of commissioners by Greek subjects, the citizens are still struggling with the high cost of necessities which is a remnant of the war from the shadow of which we have scarcely emerged. The increased cost of living is saddening the days of the Italian middle classes, who were extremely abstemious, and is the source of a current of discomfort and discontent which is sweeping over the entire country.

Signor Maggiorino Ferraris gives in the July *Nuova Antologia* the current prices for food, housing and clothing as compared with the 1914 schedule:

Bread, pastry, rice and vegetables cost from three to four times more; wine, oil, meat, butter, sugar and coffee cost four or five times more; lettuce and endive for salads and fruit cost five or six times more than in 1914, and it must not be forgotten that they are important components of Italian diet.

In clothing, the price of a good pair of shoes has risen from twenty to one hundred lire. A hat of average quality has gone up from ten to sixty and seventy lire, a man's shirt is now fifty or sixty lire instead of seven.

The rents are only doubled, thanks to a law prohibiting further increase while increasing the landlord's taxes to nearly eight times their former figure. The wages of servants have increased from five to six times. So that it may be roughly computed that the daily cost of living is from four to five times higher than before the war. The figure of five times is perhaps the more accurate.

To meet this deficit on the credit side, the income of the family should, of course, be increased five times. But in the majority of cases it has remained stationary. Those who suffer most are

those living on pensions, the people with moderate incomes or annuities, the holders of government bonds or industrial stockholders.

Signor Ferraris attributes this soaring curve of the cost of living to the following causes: the unfavorable foreign exchange (to Italians), the rise of the wages of day laborers, the high customs and railway tariffs, the increase in taxes, the increase in the cost of food-stuffs, and the excessive profits of the wholesale and retail merchants and especially of the so-called middlemen.

The decline in value of the Italian paper lira, which is now worth only twenty-five cents in gold, and the consequent rise of the pound sterling, which was twenty-five lire at par and is now over 103 lire, are the real cause of the high cost of living here.

Hence the restoration of the paper lira to its par value in gold as before the war, is the first and safest remedy against the rise in prices of necessities. This would decrease four times the value of all the staples, the value of which is regulated by international competition. As experience has taught us, the balance of the budget of state is of primary importance to the maintenance of a favorable rate of exchange. England by a very rigorous tax system and implacable economies has not only balanced her budget, but created a reserve fund. The pound sterling is therefore par in all the gold-standard countries. Second in importance is the preservation of peace and order at home and abroad.

A gradual decrease of the wages of laborers and factory workers would eventually turn to their advantage by decreasing the price of food-stuffs and clothing.

As to the excess profits of manufacturers and retailers, we would do well to follow the example of England, who passed her Profiteering Act in 1919. This Act permitted the Minister of Commerce to fix maximum prices for certain articles after having

examined the conditions of its production. If the manufacturer or retailer infringe this regulation he can be condemned to pay a fine as high as £200 or three months in prison.

As to the high customs tariff, as a general rule it seems advisable to favor as much as possible imports and to limit or prohibit the export of so much fruit, salad greens and cheese which are our daily menu and which have gone up to ridiculous prices.

Food-stuffs and clothes should be freed of import duties, as the consumer must now be aided and not the comparatively small class of producers, middlemen and profiteers. Another improvement could be made in the installing of a system of good markets in the towns of Italy. As in Switzerland these markets could be held in the finest public squares and close at nine o'clock in the morning promptly before the business of the day begins. Extravagance in the Italian of modest means is another dire consequence of the unsettled conditions. The rise of wages, the increase of rents and the earnings of small farmers, the excess profits of trade and quick sales have created a growing class of families and individuals who spend a great deal more than in the *ante-bellum* past, and who with their demands raise the prices of staples. Everyone in Italy lives far beyond the public means. The state, the fathers of the country, the citizens and the workmen do not understand that the war caused a great destruction of wealth and to gather it together again we should resign ourselves to a life of retirement, work and economy. The "buy nothing" campaign

was abandoned too soon or it might have answered to our urgent need in this direction.

The Government under the premier Mussolini has just taken up again the problems and we are anxiously awaiting the day when excess prices, excess wages and excess profits will remain painful memories of the past. We must therefore second our able and energetic chief in his proposed strong policy as to the balancing of the budget and limitation of the circulation of paper money, as the factors most likely to overcome the unfavorable rate of exchange. At the present moment this rate may also be influenced by causes independent of our power, such as the situation on the Ruhr, the reparations of Germany to the Allies, the debts of the Allies to each other, the late unpleasantness with the Greeks, or by the acts of God, such as the Etna eruption. But if we can secure a descent of the pound even to fifty lire, the price of the greater part of the daily food would immediately fall one-half; and bread, pastry, sugar, coffee, meat, butter, chickens and eggs would again make the home of every Italian rich in healthy and vigorous children.

In the north of Italy, moreover, the high price of wood, coal and charcoal has caused much sickness and death, and the young married people have had to spend their meager savings on expensive kitchen utensils and household linen.

The Tangier Question in Spain

THE importance of Tangier to Spain is explained in the August 19 *España Nueva* by Señor Alonso Sanchez:

The Tangier question has been for our political stars the squaring of the circle, like Morocco or Catalonia or any of the other pests sent by the Almighty to punish us for our transgressions. A farce has been put on in London and in order that Tangier may be Spanish earth two conditions are necessary: the immediate retirement of all the statesmen and diplomats who have hitherto intervened in the negotiations to our loss and the entrance on the stage of men representative of Spanish public opinion who will carry out our hopes with more energy and persistence than the typical bureaucrats.

The value of Tangier is incalculable. It is one of the chief geographical positions of the world. It deserves the title of the western Constantinople. Situated at the point of the juncture between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic on a path which may be called the world's economic equator, which crosses the American Mediterranean, the sea of the Antilles and, passing through the Mediterranean of the old world, goes to the east by the Suez Canal, the Dead Sea, the Bab el Mandeb Strait, the shores of Ceylon, Singapore to the China Sea, it sweeps on past Canton, Manila and Hong-Kong and, turning to the north towards Nagasaki and Yokohama, crosses the Pacific to the port of departure, Panama.

Except this port, all the important ports of this great highway are in the hands of England.

Tangier is also near the meeting of this highway with the other, only second in importance, which crosses the Atlantic from north to south to go through the east towards South America and by the Cape of Horn to the Pacific, the Cape of Good Hope, Australia and India, and back again through the Red Sea and the Suez Canal.

All the strategical positions of this double highway belong to Great Britain. The axis of these lines is the Straits of Gibraltar. As soon as Morocco fell under the French Protectorate, which occurred by virtue of the Treaty of April, 1904, England was committed to three policies in order to protect Gibraltar: The first was to place Spain between France and the Straits, the second was to prevent either from gaining a foothold in Tangier and the third was to prevent any possible *entente cordiale* between France and Spain.

Besides, of course, there is the matchless climate, the beauty of its natural position and the excellent port that might be built there.

We have done nothing to secure for ourselves this possession [continues Señor Sanchez]. Tangier was never Spanish except in the time of the Caliphs whom we expelled. But Portugal is the only nation who can claim any hereditary right to it, as she took it by force and kept it for nearly two centuries. She gave it up to the English, who after a short time returned it to the Moors.

Spain has never coveted Tangier, and in the twenty-eight years between the restoration of the monarchy and the first Morocco Treaty of 1902, the whole archives of the Foreign Ministry only show a brochure of fifty pages on the subject.



ONE OF THE GATES OF TANGIER

To put the Tangier pearl in our casket we should have sent as colonists there our "portable" classes, if one may use the word—our aristocrats in search of new sensations, our merchants looking for big deals, our manufacturers and ambitious capitalists and a chorus of the middle classes bent on cheap and pleasant vacations, or retired bureaucrats of moderate income for whom Morocco with its low cost of living would be Paradise. But fear of the Moors and horror of Moorish customs are ineradicable heritages of the Spanish people. Only poverty or pursuit by law can conquer this feeling, and Tangier has served only as our city of refuge, for the gentlemen in bad odor with the State Mounted Police in La Línea, Estepona or Algeciras. There are a great many of them. And our diplomatic stars believe that our claim to future possession of Tangier rests solidly in the mere fact of their majority. As a matter of fact, the more numerous these delinquent fugitives are, the greater the blame. The Moors look upon them as their poor European relations, despised and disliked because they are competitors for petty posts.

We have done a great deal to lose Tangier [concludes Señor Sanchez]. We couldn't have done more! By the windfall of the Treaty of 1902 between France and Spain without the interference of England, Tangier was given to Spain without conditions. But when the Treaty was presented for signature, Don Antonio Maura objected and Tangier was lost for Spain. The Treaty of 1904 again gave us the prize of Tangier. But this time a condition was imposed. The city must have a special government while the European ministers lived there. It was a door half-open to the enemy. Señor Maura opened it by asking for a moratorium

of thirty years for Spain. It was reduced to fifteen, thanks to the Paris Ambassador, but as France rejected initiative while taking on the responsibility, Spain remained a sort of minor under her guardianship. The French under Cambon obtained from Sánchez Román Montero Ríos the concession of the best part of the city for the French quarter, and the permission to settle twice as many inhabitants there as in the Spanish quarter, and the right to appoint a governor with higher rank and first in command.

From that time, by the fault of the same man who signed the Treaty of Paris, we began to lose our power in Tangier. His son-in-law completed the fiasco for Spain in the Treaty of November 27, 1912.

The French colonies, protectorate and mandated territories in Africa have an area which exceeds by nearly 80,000 miles that of the entire United States, including Alaska, while Spain's 128,100 square miles only reaches a two-thirds of her homeland.

The Tangier question remains unsettled and lost in the noise of recrimination and accusation about the Spanish disaster in Melilla.

Together with Great Britain's refusal to allow the southern coast of Gibraltar to be occupied by another European power, the Tangier difficulty has considerably hampered Spain in her efforts to cope with the Moroccan question.

News from Nature's World

Preserving the Vitality of Seeds

REMARKABLE experiments in the field of plant physiology have been recently reported to the French Academy of Sciences by two different investigators, M. J. Houdas and M. A. Guillaumin. Both sets of experiments have to do with the preservation of vitality in seeds, a question of great practical importance. We find the two notes summarized in the August *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Lausanne), from which we quote:

A large number of seeds, according to M. Houdas, quickly lose their germinative powers when exposed to air, because of the alteration occasioned in their fixed or essential oils or in their other elements. It is necessary to sow such seeds very quickly or to place them in layers and it is scarcely possible to ship them to distant places in order to acclimatize the species elsewhere.

An example of this is the *Gerbera jamesoni*, from which it is impossible to obtain a single germination after the lapse of a few weeks. As the seed, deprived of albumen contains *alluron*, it is logical to assume that its alteration is due, at least in part, to the oxidizing action of atmospheric oxygen, whence it follows that we may hope to avoid this by preserving the seed in an atmosphere composed of an inert gas. This theory was confirmed by experiment, the duration of the germinative faculty being much prolonged when the seed was preserved in hydrogen. After remaining for eight months within the inert gas, the germinative power (which averaged 95 per cent.) was precisely the same as immediately after the ripening of the seed. This result induced M. Houdas to extend the experiment for years instead of months, and he found that it was possible by this method to retain a germinative faculty almost as great as that when the seed was first gathered (90 to 95 per cent. on the average), for five, ten and eleven years. The hydrogen was somewhat more satisfactory than the carbon-dioxide, the average germinative power retained in an atmosphere of the latter ranging from 85 to 90 per cent.

It is obvious that these results are of great practical importance, since delicate seeds having a low germinative power, can by this means be safely shipped to distant lands. Similar favorable results were obtained by a somewhat different method, that of conserving the seeds in a vacuum, which was done by M. Guillaumin, who demonstrated that seeds preserved in a vacuum germinate better and retain their germinative power longer than those kept in the air. While the practical results thus obtained are beyond question, there remains some room for discussion as to the reason for the phenomenon. According to some

authorities it is due to the temporary arrest of vital phenomena.

Bee Stings and Rheumatism

Fresh interest has been aroused recently in Germany with respect to the alleged medicinal value exerted by bee stings. Various cases of such curative effects have been reported in the journals devoted to the art of raising bees. A well-known authority on bee-keeping, Mr. August Ludwig, the author of a book called "Our Bees," states that he long harbored grave doubts as to the therapeutic value of the poison in the sting of a bee. In lecturing to a class he advised his hearers, when stung, to remove the sting immediately, so that the flesh might absorb as little of the poison as possible, whereupon, one of his hearers, an experienced old man, observed that it was a good thing to absorb quite a lot of bee poison, especially if one suffered from rheumatism. On being requested to make a formal statement of his reasons for this belief, he wrote as follows:

Being afflicted with rheumatism, I allowed myself to be stung in the early part of June, 1901, no less than fourteen times. I did not immediately remove the stings, but allowed as much as possible of the poison to empty itself into the wound. I promptly recognized that the experience was beneficial, . . . so that for some little period of time I allowed myself to be stung daily on the legs by from four to six bees, until I had been stung 80 times. In 1902, I began to keep bees myself and was stung a number of times by accident because of my lack of skill. Since then I have never had a trace of rheumatism, from which I formerly suffered frightfully except in the bad autumn of last year.

The same witness reports another striking case of a cure and thinks this remedy would be oftener sought except for the pain connected with it. Since so many poisons are now employed as curative agents for one thing and another, it would seem worth while for our physiologists to devote some attention to this question. Because beekeepers suffer but little from tuberculosis some persons believe that bee poison is a safeguard against that more terrible disease; however, it seems more reasonable to believe that they owe their immunity to their open-air life.

New Studies of the Gulf Stream

The belief has been generally held hitherto that the remarkable warmth of the North

Atlantic Ocean, to which is due the agreeable mildness of the climate of Northern Europe under the influence of the western wind, is to be ascribed to the Gulf Stream, whose waters, heated in the Gulf of Mexico, flow northward and spread out fanwise along the coasts of Great Britain and Norway.

Dr. Le Danois, a well-known authority upon the hydrography of the North Atlantic Ocean, to which he has devoted many years of study, has recently returned from a cruise undertaken for scientific purposes, and he believes that his observations prove that the real Gulf Stream, which passes as a continuation of the equatorial current around the end of Florida, flows north along the coast of North America and then turns eastward in the latitude of Newfoundland, really comes to an end in the so-called Sargasso Sea, or, rather, flows around this becalmed area of the ocean filled with masses of seaweed, and thus closes the North Atlantic circuit. His conclusions are reported in *Naturwiss. Umschau* (Berlin).

If this be accepted as true it leaves open the question as to the cause of the phenomena of the climate of Western Europe referred to above. Dr. Le Danois presents the hypothesis that the waters of the Atlantic Ocean can be divided into two groups differentiated by their degree of salinity. He believes that those water masses which contain the lesser amount of salt comprise the waters in arctic regions and the continental waters, whereas, those masses having a higher salt content are distributed particularly in the equatorial portions of the ocean, where the water, of course, is subjected to a constant process of heating by the intense rays of the equatorial sun.

Dr. Le Danois further believes that in exchange with an extension of the icy waters of the Arctic Ocean, which occurs in the winter months, there is a so-called summer "transgression" or movement, taking place from June to November and due to the fact that at this period the equatorial waters with their high content of salt, undergo a considerable expansion which causes them to flow above the arctic and continental waters. This movement is especially evident about the middle of the summer, at which time extensive overflows, so to speak, or transgressions, to use his own term, of these warm and salty waters from the tropics are to be found in the North Atlantic, in the Bay of Biscay at the beginning of

June, as far north as Newfoundland in July, along the south of Ireland in August, and in the North Sea in September.

A Water Plant that Bans Mosquitoes

The mosquito must go! There is no question about it—at least so far as Madam *Anopheles* is concerned—for a clear case has been proved against her as being guilty of transmitting to mankind the parasite which causes that dread disease, malaria. But it is one thing to pronounce sentence and quite another to execute judgment. Since the larvæ of mosquitoes require stagnant water to develop and since they require oxygen to breathe, they can be killed by anything which covers the surface of the water where they hatch, closely enough to prevent their obtaining access to the air. A film of oil will do this and the "oiling" of ponds and ditches has proved a preventive measure of enormous value. There are objections to the use of oil in many cases, however, even aside from the expense of the material and of the labor required to apply it. The use of fishes which feed upon the larvæ has also been recommended, and this method is effective within certain obvious limits.

A third method free from these objections has recently been proposed—namely, the growing of water-plants capable of excluding the air from the larvæ. More than one plant is known adapted to such a purpose, but a particularly attractive one is exhibited at the Brooklyn (N. Y.) Botanical Gardens. This is the *azolla caroliniana*, a water-fern with leaves so small that one needs a microscope to perceive their beauties in detail. When thus examined it is seen that they contain minute bubbles of air which support the plant in the water as "water-wings" do a bather, so that the upper surface is quite dry. Mats of the *azolla* float on the water, looking like beautifully woven rugs of soft red and green tints. These masses often contain thousands of the tiny floating plants, which are dark red at their edges, shading down to green at the center.

Since the *azolla* reproduces itself not only by spores, but by direct budding of progeny from the parent cell it multiplies with great rapidity. Curator Arthur H. Graves of the Botanical Gardens states that this plant has been used to prevent the propagation of mosquitoes both in Panama and in Germany. It may be seen in the terminal pond of the brook which adorns the Gardens.

THE NEW BOOKS

Documents of Worldwide Interest

Actividades de la Liga de las Naciones. By Dr. Cosme de la Torre. Havana: Rambla, Bouza & Co. 491 pp.

It is an agreeable coincidence that the Cuban statesman, who has now been made President of the Assembly of the League of Nations, is on record with a highly creditable volume published in Havana on the activities of the League of Nations. This volume ought to be translated speedily into English. It gives an excellent account of the League from the beginning, covering the work of the League up to the present year. The introduction is from the pen of that distinguished Cuban jurist, Dr. Antonio S. de Bustamante, who is one of the judges of the Permanent International Court of Justice. Cuba may well be proud of two scholars and internationalists of such great distinction, one of whom is now at the head of the League of Nations, and the other an associate of Judge John Bassett Moore and others on the international tribunal.

Third Year Book of the League of Nations: for the Year 1922. By Charles H. Levermore. The Brooklyn Daily Eagle. 434 pp.

Dr. Levermore, the editor, has greatly added to the value of this year book by including in it the record of international conferences held during 1922 which, while not technically within the activities of the League of Nations, were closely re-

lated to its welfare, and had to do with the shaping of issues which many believe will finally fall within the province of the League. Dr. Levermore has in effect compiled a year book of world relationships. Through his work as editor of this series, Dr. Levermore is performing a distinct service to the cause of contemporary history.

The China Year Book: 1923. Edited by H. G. W. Woodhead. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1242 pp. Ill.

The editor of this annual reference book is working under serious handicaps in a country where for some years past the central government has exercised no real authority over the provinces and hence has been unable to collect statistics systematically. In addition to this serious difficulty in getting data on a variety of subjects, the editor has been still further embarrassed by the fact that most of the compositors who worked on the book understood little or no English and set type solely by sight. This, of course, made the work of proof-reading doubly arduous. With all these disadvantages, Mr. Woodhead, who by the way is editor of the *Peking and Tientsin Times*, has produced a very creditable compilation in which will be found 1200 closely printed pages of data regarding modern China. The descriptive and statistical chapters afford ready answers to hundreds of questions that are likely to occur to any intelligent foreigner having business relations of any kind with the Far East.

History: Medieval and Modern

The Far Eastern Republic of Siberia. By Henry Kittredge Norton. Henry Holt and Company. 316 pp. Ill.

Up to the present time we have never had in the English language anything that could pretend to be a complete or unbiased account of the developments of the past four years in Siberia. The author of the present volume is said to have been the only foreign traveler who has traversed all the territory from Lake Baikal to the Pacific since the withdrawal of the Allied troops. Mr. Norton lived for many months with the Russians of the Far East, and was able to get from them an interesting account of the struggle of the peasants for independence and self-government. It is difficult for the American mind to see how the people of the Far Eastern Republic can be at the same time of Bolshevism and against Communism. The peasants of Siberia give the Bolsheviks credit for accomplishing the revolution, but the great body of them would never accept the

principles of Communism and hand over their surplus hoardings to the city laborer. Private property is still respected among them.

The Decisive Battles of Modern Times. By Lieut.-Colonel F. E. Whitton. Houghton Mifflin Company. 259 pp.

About the middle of the Nineteenth Century Sir Edward Creasy began writing about the world's decisive battles. Naturally, there was much controversy as to what particular battles, especially those of modern times, should be regarded as "decisive." Colonel Whitton, of the British Army, has selected as the five most decisive battles fought during the last sixty years, Vicksburg, Königgrätz, Mars-la-Tour, Tsushima, and the Marne. Many American readers may at first be surprised that from the great battles of our Civil War Vicksburg should have been chosen instead of Gettysburg. Vicksburg's association with Grant's career may

have somewhat affected the judgment of a foreign military critic, in the light of Grant's ultimate success as the Union commander. Yet the importance of the western communications and the opening of the Mississippi afford some basis for Colonel Whitton's judgment.

Life on a Medieval Barony. By William Stearns Davis. Harper & Brothers. 414 pp. Ill.

The typical feudal community of the Thirteenth Century is what Professor Davis attempts to picture in this volume. No phase of European history has been so idealized by historian and novelist as the age of feudalism. The historians are responsible for much fanciful writing on this period, and the romantic novelists have naturally gone them one better. Professor Davis seeks to bring the whole story down to earth, and to tell us how the people themselves, not merely the barons and overlords, actually lived in those days. The author has employed not a little skill in narration, and his text is freely illustrated, largely from old manuscripts. The entire book is based on the original sources, and includes much material not heretofore available in the English language.

The Expansion of Europe: the Culmination of Modern History. By Ramsay Muir. Houghton Mifflin Company. 365 pp.

This is the third edition of a graphic account of the advance of European imperialism during the Nineteenth Century which has already been noticed in this REVIEW. Important changes have been made in the chapter which deals with the events immediately preceding the Great War, and two new chapters have been added, one dealing with the light shed by the War on the relations between Europe and the rest of the world, and the other with the peace settlement and the problems which it leaves for solution.

The Mexican Nation: a History. By Herbert Ingram Priestley. Macmillan. 507 pp. Ill.

The resumption of diplomatic relations between Mexico and the United States gives special timeliness to the publication of this important history of the Mexican nation by one of the professors of the University of California. Contrary to the general opinion in this country, Dr. Priestley's studies have led him to the conclusion that "Mexico has a con-

sumingly interesting story, almost unique in its relationships with the primitive epoch and in its significance for present and future world problems." Mexico's 400 years of white domination seem to Dr. Priestley, on the whole, not discreditable when compared with other white men's domination of dependent peoples. The main theme of Dr. Priestley's book is the development and meaning of the Spanish colonial history in North America and the trend of political, economic and social activity since independence.

The Journal of John Work. By William S. Lewis and Paul C. Phillips. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 209 pp. Ill.

John Work was a fur trader of the Hudson Bay Company, who was in charge of an expedition in 1831-32 through much of the country now occupied by the States of Oregon, Idaho and Montana. His journal has been edited by William S. Lewis and Paul C. Phillips, who have added an account of the fur trade in the Northwest and a brief sketch of Work's life. The journal contains much information concerning the Indian tribes of Flatheads and Blackfeet.

The Creation of the Presidency—1775-1789: a Study in Constitutional History. By Charles C. Thach, Jr. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 182 pp.

The writer of this monograph on the Presidency in American Constitutional history finds that the working model adopted by the fathers of our Federal Government was the Governorship of New York State as established during the War of the Revolution. "It afforded the only American example of government by a constitution, actually controlling the departments of government and at the same time a completely independent and very energetic and active chief magistrate."

The Story of America. Prepared by Alberto Pecorini for the Massachusetts Society of the Colonial Dames. Boston: Marshall Jones Company. 237 pp.

A brief history of America, prepared for the Massachusetts Society of the Colonial Dames. The book is printed in Polish and English (alternate pages).

Government, Finance and Industry

Service Monographs of the United States Government. D. Appleton & Co.

The Institute for Government Research has already provided us with a number of valuable publications in the general field of the national administration. A series of small volumes that have been appearing of late is devoted to such subjects as the Federal Tariff Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the Federal Board for Vocational Education, the Public Health Service, the Weather Bureau, the Geological Survey, and still other special activities of the Government. These hand-

books are thoroughgoing and reliable and should be of much service to the citizen who wishes to understand current public activities.

The Report of the Citizens' Committee on the Finances of Pennsylvania. In three volumes. Published by the State of Pennsylvania.

Governor Pinchot's energetic and public-spirited activities begin to bear fruit for the citizens of Pennsylvania in many ways. We are alluding elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW of REVIEWS to his initiative in the settlement of the anthracite

coal strike. One of the first things he did on becoming Governor was to appoint a citizen's committee on the Finances of Pennsylvania. The report of this committee is now available in three slender, compact volumes, the first of which deals with the Highway Department, Public Printing, Compensation, Game and Fish; the second with Education; and the third with charitable institutions and hospitals, the State's penal and correctional establishments, and various philanthropic institutions that are not under direct State management. These volumes, while prepared from the financial standpoint, are descriptive of the services with which they deal, and taken together they give us a strikingly valuable picture of many phases of the Keystone State's dealings with its people and its resources.

Industrial Democracy: a Plan for Its Achievement. By Glenn E. Plumb and William G. Roylance. B. W. Huebsch. 359 pp.

The Plumb plan, as originally promulgated several years ago, was a program for the democratization of railroad management. It was formulated by the late Glenn E. Plumb as counsel for the sixteen rail brotherhoods. Before his death, last year, Mr. Plumb, with the assistance of Prof. William G. Roylance, had developed his project so as to apply to all industries operated under a corporate charter and to public utilities generally. The book now

issued under the title "Industrial Democracy" contains a complete statement of the literary basis and historical justification of the enlarged program. Mr. Plumb proposed that all public utilities should be owned and operated by the Government through a corporation. This corporation was to have no capital stock and to issue no bonds. It was to be governed by a board of directors representing equally management, labor and the public. Rates and wages were to be fixed by the directors.

Lowell—an Industrial Dream Come True. By H. C. Meserve. Boston: National Association of Cotton Manufacturers. 126 pp.

One reads so much of labor friction in American industrial towns that there is danger of forgetting how substantial and valuable has been the development of American industry as a whole. It is well worth while for special industries to devote themselves to the study of their own history and to the relation of their progress to the welfare of cities or communities with which they are especially identified. The National Association of Cotton Manufacturers has published a little volume entitled, "Lowell—An Industrial Dream Come True," the author of which is Mr. H. C. Meserve, the secretary of that powerful association. Here we have in brief compass the story of cotton and the growth of New England's greatest textile industry.

Other Outstanding Books

Football and How to Watch It. By Percy D. Haughton. Introduction by Heywood Broun. Boston: Marshall Jones Company. 211 pp. Ill.

Mr. Percy Haughton, the former Harvard coach, has a keen appreciation of the mental and physical values of football as a sport. In his book on how to understand and watch the game Mr. Haughton duplicates none of the manuals devoted to the technique of the individual player. Largely ignoring these, he dwells upon team play, and considers individual play only as a part of the performance of the group. Needless to say, Mr. Haughton is a football enthusiast and is able to draw on his personal recollections of outstanding games, running back many years, for illustrations of the points that he elucidates. Besides giving the reader many hints, which may enable him to observe the game more intelligently, Mr. Haughton incorporates in his book a good deal of what might be termed inside information concerning the training and care of football players.

A Professor of Life: a Sketch of Arthur Latham Perry of Williams College. By his son, Carroll Perry. Houghton Mifflin Company. 112 pp.

The name of Professor Arthur L. Perry may not be enrolled to-day among those of the foremost American economists, but to hundreds of Williams students of the 60's, 70's and 80's of the last century "Peri" was just what his son has called him in the title of this little book—"A Professor of Life." The human traits which made Professor Perry one of the unforgettable figures among the Williams professors of his time are recalled in a most interesting way in

this tribute by his son. Incidentally, the book has almost as much to do with Williamstown and the Berkshires as with Professor Perry himself.

Handbook of American Indian Languages. Franz Boas. Washington: Government Printing Office. Part II: 903 pp.

The Smithsonian Institution continues its invaluable studies of the American Indian. Our Bureau of American Ethnology has made priceless contributions to the knowledge of the human race. Among its recent publications is the second part of Dr. Franz Boas' monumental handbook of American Indian languages, which is listed as Bulletin 40, but which is a magnificent volume of over 900 pages.

Blood Revenge, War, and Victory Feasts Among the Jibaro Indians of Eastern Ecuador. By Rafael Karsten. Washington: Government Printing Office. 94 pp.

A small but scholarly contribution by Rafael Karsten (listed as Bulletin 79 of the Bureau of Ethnology publications) is entitled "Blood Revenge, War, and Victory Feasts Among the Jibaro Indians of Eastern Ecuador." Some of these Jibaros live in parts of the country to which no white man has yet penetrated. Their present total number, Dr. Karsten tells us, may be about 20,000. Their energy against the Spaniards more than 300 years ago has had the result of leaving them practically unmolested ever since, and they are regarded as the most warlike of all Indian tribes in South America. This little volume, while of scientific value, is prepared in a readable and popular way.